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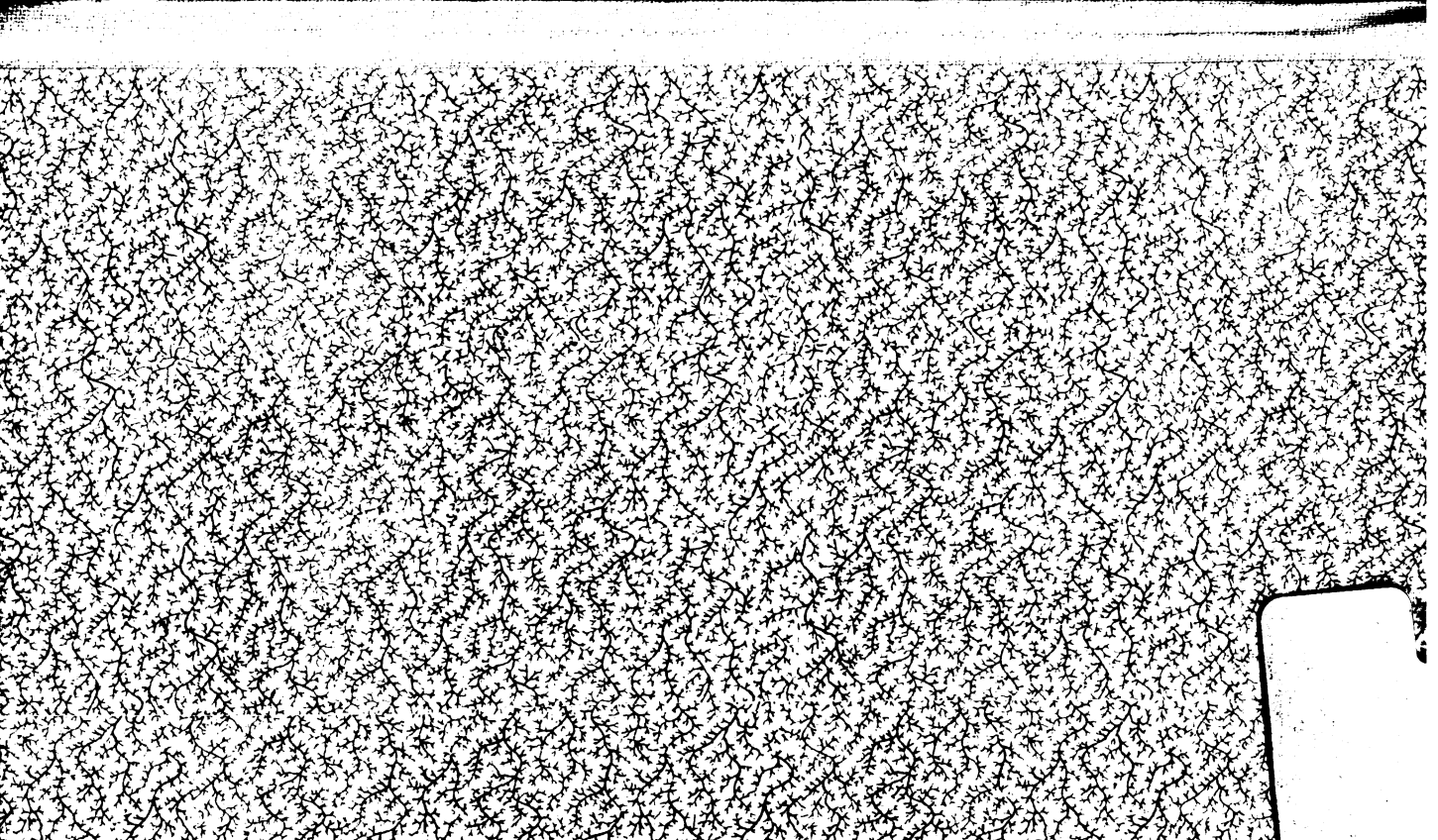

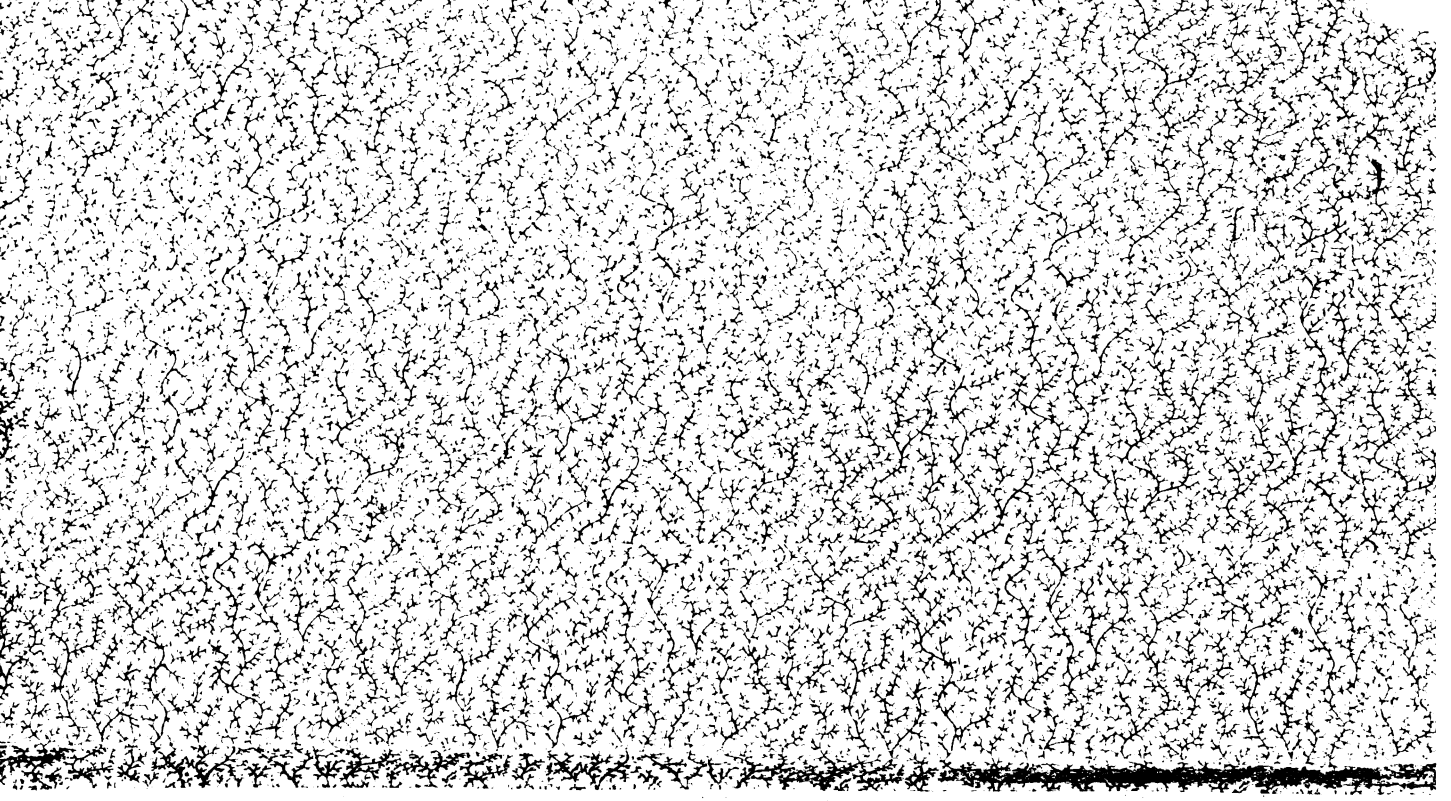

MEMOIRS

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

By MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF ANNE BOLEYN,"
"MRS. HAMILTON," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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In reviewing the history of Mary Stuart, it is necessary to cast a cursory glance over the state of Scotland under her ancestors, whose annals supply copious examples of

the perils and infelicities annexed to the possession of a regal sceptre. In other countries, the military circumvallations of the feudal system had gradually introduced the rudiments of order and government; but in this kingdom, where the monarch had to contend with nobles not less ferocious, scarcely more enlightened than the vassals over whom they exercised despotic sway, those reciprocal obligations were inadequate to maintain public tranquillity, and personal feuds and domestic factions, like the quarrels of Arab chiefs, descended from father to son, entailing strife and wretchedness on their remote posterity. In France and England, the baronial mansion was often the asylum of indigent scholars, or expatriated poets and artists, whose influence insensibly communicated to their haughty patrons the rudiments of knowledge, literature, and taste. But in Scotland, the moated castle was in general occupied by illiterate masters, who listened but to the legends of

empirical priests, better calculated to pervert the feelings than to inform the understanding of their votaries. Even in rich and flourishing towns, the vestiges of the middle ages were still perceptible. Relics and miracles were universally popular; a series of forms and ceremonies usurped the place of moral and religious duties; and whilst the dignitaries of the church openly violated the vows to which they owed their enormous power, the inferior clergy appear to have sought only to perpetuate the ignorance and submission of the people. Hordes of banditti ravaged the country, all of whom, from the gypsies of the forest to the moss trooper of the border*, lived in avowed contempt of the laws and in haughty independence of the sovereign: in this stormy season, the native genius of Scotland often broke forth; but her scholars, her poets, and her soldiers,

* The reader will recollect the spirited and interesting account of these banditti, in the preface to the minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

had to seek, in more genial regions, the favour and protection denied them by their own ungrateful country.

Nor was Scotland without her patriots and heroes, whose character, as it must have been formed, should be measured by the existing standard of civilization. High-spirited men, who gloried in contemning the power, and in resenting the insults of their *southron* foes, intrepid chiefs who placed honour and integrity in preserving unaltered the institutions of their fore-fathers, and who consequently resisted, with pernicious zeal, every deviation that threatened innovation or promised improvement. Buchanan has boasted of their good faith and religious fidelity; but their loyalty was of a peculiar character. To conspire against the sovereign's life, appears to have been considered as a venial trespass. To have invaded the royal order of succession was (if the expression can be used) an unimaginable treason. Even in seasons of anarchy

or rebellion, nothing like revolution was achieved or attempted. During the long captivity of James the First, in England, no usurper ascended the vacant throne, nor did the assassin of that injured prince attempt to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hand of his infant heir. As, however, the vices incident to uncertain governments were aggravated under every succeeding regent, it is not surprising that factions should multiply, and that, generally, a minority should form the larger portion of each monarch's reign.*

For James the Fourth, fortune seemed to have reserved a better destiny. Detesting the faction by which he had been raised as a parricide to the throne, he curbed the insolence of the nobles, established something like order and regular government, and even infused into his court a portion of his own native elegance and chivalrous gallantry.

* Of 182 years, seventy-five were spent in minorities. See *Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History.*

The accomplishments of James were versatile as brilliant; he excelled in jousting and horsemanship, was skilled in music, and not unpractised in poetical composition. Attracted by his celebrity, Anne of Brittany challenged him to be her knight; and what was better, Henry the Seventh of England chose him for his son-in-law. It is not often that the alliance of two royal houses becomes to their respective nations, the everlasting bond of peace and concord; and of the happy consequences hereafter to flow from the union of James and Margaret, no adequate anticipations could have been formed by the statesmen of the age. Yet it produced an impression equally pleasing to the English and the Scots, and was, with reason, regarded as the precursor of harmony and increasing civilization. The espousals were solemnized in London on the 8th of June, 1503, with the usual demonstrations of joy and triumph. Whether the marriage would prove equally acceptable to the royal pair,

might perhaps admit of doubt, since, at the age of twenty-nine, the King of Scotland could scarcely hope to find a companionable consort in a young princess who had not yet completed her fifteenth year. Margaret, however, was tall, and dignified, and too well pleased to possess the title and state of a queen, either to lament the approaching separation from her family, or to shrink, with maidenly timidity, from the fatigue and harassments attending her adventurous migration. The history of her bridal tour, in itself not unamusing, acquires augmented interest from the picture which it offers of society in the higher orders at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

King Henry himself conducted his daughter through Northamptonshire, where, having paid a farewell visit to her grandmother, the Countess of Derby, she was consigned to the care of the Earls of Surrey and Northumberland, for whose in-

struction he had previously written with his own hand a volume of ordonnances to regulate the ceremonial of her future progress. Margaret travelled leisurely, never commencing her ride till noon, when she had dined, nor prolonging it beyond the hour of five, when she alighted to sup and sleep at the castle or palace prepared for her reception. The fairest dames and most gallant knights followed in her train. Whereever she approached she was greeted with praise and congratulation, and day after day produced a repetition of the same pageantry and jubilee. It was not, however, till after six days that she reached the famous town of Berwick, where the Earl of Northumberland was to resign his fair charge to the Lords whom James had appointed to receive her. From Berwick, Margaret departed in regal state, attired and attended as Queen of Scotland. She was preceded by the Earl of Northumberland, his cavaliers and henchmen, who were on this day in their gala dress. "After *came the said*

" *Queene* very richly arrayed, and crowned " with gold and precious stones, sitting " in her litter richly appointed, her foot- " men nigh, her palfrey following after, led " by Sir Thomas Worteley, master of the " horse; after, her ladies and gentlemen " mounted upon fair palfreys, and their " harness rich in apparel; after, came her " chariot, and after that other gentlemen " on horseback. Before the said Queen " went, by order, Johannes and his com- " pany, and Henry Glassenbury and his " company, the trumpets, officers of arms, " and serjeants of masse; so that at the " departing out of the said Berwick, and " at her bedward at Lambertouke*, it was " a joy to see and hear."

In this manner, escorted by two thousand horsemen, she approached Lamberchurch, where the King's party were waiting to receive her, in a pavilion which had been constructed for the occasion.

* Lamberchurch.

" When the Queen was come, the Earl " of Morton advanced, and, kneeling to " the ground, made the receiving. There " were in presence, the Archbishop of " York, the Bishop of Durham, and the " Earl of Surrey; and after this, she was " brought to the pavilion appointed for re- " creation, and helped down, and kissed " of the said Lords; and by them she " was brought to the pavilion, where none " entered except the Lords and Ladies, and " within the same was a lady of the coun- " try, clothed in scarlet, with gentlewomen " appoynted after the same guise."

" After the receiving done, each put " himself again in order, and the Queen " mounted on horseback; the said lord of " Northumberland made his devoir at the " departing, of gambades and leaps with his " horse, as did likewise the lord Scroop his " father, and many others that took congé."

The number of the Scotch at this junction, was estimated at one thousand persons. Pass-

ing through Haddington, the bridal party proceeded to the castle of Earl Morton, at Dalkeith, which, for the present, was to be the bourn of Margaret's pilgrimage. At the gate of the castle she was met by the Countess of Morton, and by her conducted to the state chamber, where, as she had without doubt anticipated, the King, accompanied by a few select courtiers, arrived to bid her welcome to Scotland. No sooner was the well-tutored princess apprized of his approach, than she advanced to meet him at the door of the apartment, "*when* "*having each made great reverences* one "to *the other, his head being uncovered,* "*they kissed togeder,* and in like wise "*kissed the ladies and others also.* Then "the Queen and he went aside and com- "muned for long space; she held good "*manere,* and he bare-headed."

After this courtly introduction, the royal pair previous to a social meal, "washed "*their hands in humble reverence, and after*

" *set them down togeder.* The table being
" cleared, *the minstrels began to blow,* when
" danced the Queen, accompanied by my
" lady Surrey. This doon, the king took
" license of her, for it was late, and he went
" to his bed at Edinburgh very well con-
" tent of so fair meeting.*

Although it may be fairly presumed, that Margaret sympathized in these favourable sentiments, the discreet chronicler has not divulged her secret. On the following day, at the hour of four, a second visit from James being expected, a numerous English party passed from the castle gate to meet him; but the young monarch, whose better taste rejected the state and ceremony, so uncongenial to a lover's feelings, escaped their courtesy by stealing through a private passage to the castle, and in the poetical language of the chronicler, *flying as the bird that*

* See Leland's Collectanea. The journal in question is from the pen of the herald Charles Somerset, called the *fiançelles* of Margaret.

seeks his prey, he took other way, and went *prively, and entered the chamber*. Surprized and delighted with his abrupt intrusion, the young Queen, hastily leaving the game of cards with which she was cheating the hours of idleness, flew to the gallant cavalier, and, of her own free will, welcomed him with a vivacity that shewed how little she repined at her destiny. From this moment, James and Margaret seemed to forget every thing but love and pleasure. When she danced, he was an enraptured spectator; and when he played on the lute and clavichords, she could not sufficiently express her satisfaction and delight. A courteous challenge called forth similar efforts of skill from the English party. Sir Edward Stanley, in particular, sung a song, which the King loudly applauded, whilst the Queen, instead of participating in his enthusiasm, had apparently neither eye nor ear but for her beloved Lord. These elegant amusements were protracted to a late hour, when having at

length taken leave, James passed the gates of the castle, and *leaping on his horse* without touching the stirrup, in an instant outstript all his attendants; but being afterwards apprized that the Earl of Surrey was riding after him, he suddenly stopped, and uncovering his head, respectfully awaited his approach; with such scrupulous politeness did he treat the English nobility, to whom he felt indebted for the protection of his youthful bride.

During the four days that Margaret spent in this castle, James acquired an unlimited ascendancy over her mind; whilst she, on her part, readily admitted the belief that she was not merely the consort provided by the state, but an object of tender and spontaneous affection to her accomplished lord. On her departure from Dalkeith, the young Queen, superbly dressed, was placed in a litter, and with a magnificent retinue conveyed towards Edinburgh. When she had proceeded a few miles she was met

by James, who, leaping from his steed, for some time walked by her side; then exchanging his own horse for her more gentle palfrey, invited her to mount behind him; and in this manner to make her public entry into Edinburgh. Margaret had not only the courage to accept the offered seat, but sufficient self-possession to remain tranquil, amidst the innumerable spectators, by whom she was saluted with uncouth expressions of homage and gratulation.* Among other attentions of James bespeaking deference for his mistress, it was remarked, that in

* A picturesque pageant had been contrived for their amusement. Within a meadow was erected a pavilion, from whence issued, according to the legends of chivalry, a knight mounted and armed at all points, accompanied by his lady paramour, who bore his horn. He was soon encountered by another knight, who took from him his mistress, and blew his horn. At this signal, the aggrieved knight demanded justice. The King and Queen approaching, demanded his grievance. Having detailed his wrongs, the King very gravely appointed a day on which they should fight before him in single combat.

her presence he refused to kiss the sacred relics which were offered by the religious orders, who came in to meet him. Never perhaps were royal nuptials so sportively solemnized, and never were bridal pair attended by so numerous and merry a cavalcade. The Scotch are said to have out-shone the English in the superb housings of their steeds, their brilliant armour, and stately accoutrements: but on approaching the church of the *Holy Cross**, each cavalier leapt from his horse, and James putting his arm round Margaret's slender waist, carried her to the altar, at which they were canonically united. During the remainder of the day, it was she who reigned, and he who yielded obeisance, James spontaneously offering to his Queen those expressions of fealty and homage, which her ancestors had exacted from the kings of Scotland. A succession of feasts and tournaments terminated these

* Holyrood.

festivities*, and with them the romance of James and Margaret. It is true they continued to live together in apparent concord, but the dream of love and happiness had long since vanished, various objects succeeded to his youthful bride, in the monarch's volatile affections, and she had often occasion to revert with melancholy regret to the hour when she quitted Dalkeith, and, for the last time, entered her chart, the only vehicle of the kind existing in Scotland, which was ever after laid up among other articles of royal *lumber*.

The arrival of this Princess forms an epoch in Scottish history; under her auspices

* As a specimen of the Queen's wedding-dinner, it is mentioned by Somerset, that at the first course she was served with a wild boar's head placed within a fair platter, then with a piece of brawn, and next with a gammon, the tapestry represented the siege of Troy, in the glass windows the arms of England and Scotland were quartered together.

† The first wheeled carriage which was seen in Scotland was a chariot which the Lady Margaret brought with her, when she came to marry James the Fourth. This chariot remained at Ruthven Castle.—*Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots.*

the court was modelled by that of England, at least, according to the plan established by the Countess of Derby: but whatever polish might have been imparted to the courtiers, little improvement was communicated to the people, and the fatal battle of Flodden Field deprived Scotland of a prince worthy to have lived and reigned in a better age.

The minority of James the Fifth, though untroubled by foreign wars, was distracted with domestic feuds. The house of Hamilton aspired to the regency; but Douglas, Earl of Arran, having espoused Queen Margaret, resisted their claim, and was himself supplanted by the Duke of Albany, a prince of the house of Stuart, who, having been transplanted to France, was naturalized in that kingdom, as the Sieur d'Aubigné, and zealously supported by Francis the First. After a struggle of five years, the Duke of Albany in extreme disgust* voluntarily abandoned the country

* Two instances of barbarity related by Pitscottie, sufficiently account for the Duke's abdication. Hav-

and the regency, to the usurpation of the Douglas faction. Under their administra-

---

ing been summoned to France, he left in his room M. de la Batie with the authority of regent. "There "was a gentleman in Edinburgh named William Mel- "drum, Laird of Binns, who had in company with "him a fair lady, called the Lady Gleneagies, daugh- "ter to Mr. Richard Lawson, of Humby, provost of "Edinburgh. The which lady had borne to this "laird two bairns, and intended to marry her, if he "might have had the Pope's license, because her "husband and he were sib. Yet, notwithstanding a "gentleman called Luke Sterling, envied this love "and marriage betwixt their two persons, thinking to "have the gentlewoman to himself in marriage, be- "cause he knew the laird might not have the Pope's "license by the laws, therefore he solisted his bro- "ther's son, the Laird of Keir, with a certain com- "pany of armed men, to set upon the laird of Binns, "to take this lady from him, by way and deed, and "to that effect followed him betwixt Leith and "Edinburgh, and set on him, beneath the Rood cha- "pel with fifty armed men, and he again defended "himself with five in number, and slew the Laird of "Keir's principal servants before his face, and hurt "the laird, that he was in peril of his life, and twenty "six men hurt and slain, yet, through multiplication "of his enemies, he was overset and driven to earth, "and left lying for dead, haught of his legs, and "stricken through the body, and the knops of his

tion, might was right, armed men infested the halls of justice, and, though exempted from foreign war, the barons maintained a petty warfare against each other, which in its consequences was infinitely more calamitous if not equally destructive. The moated castle inspired distrust, the forest districts were occupied by hordes of banditti, even in populous towns, the citizens were often disturbed by the alarum bell, or trumpet calling to arms; every species of outrage was committed with impunity on the weaker sex throughout Scotland; there was no sanctuary for innocence, no tribunal of jus-

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" elbows stricken from him. Yet, by the mighty " power of God, he escaped the death, and all his " men that were with him, and lived fifty years after." Pitscottie.

M. de la Batie, by pursuing the author of this crime, drew on himself the vengeance of the Laird of Wedderburn, who, having caused him to be murdered, " *cut off his head*, and because his hair was long, like " women's, and plat on a headlace, David Hume, of " Wedderburn, knit it on his saddle-bow."

PITSCOTTIE.

tice; the lively descriptions of the chronicler, Pitscottie, can alone convey an adequate idea of the miseries incident to this barbarous state of society.

"Then when the Duke (of Albany) was "departed, there arose great trouble and "deadly feuds in many parts of Scotland, "both in the north and west parts. The "Master of Forbes (in the north) slew the "Laird of Meldrum under *tryst*, likewise "the Laird of Drumelzier slew the Lord "Fleming at the hawking, and likewise "there was slaughter among many other "lords, that is to say, betwixt the Laird of "Kilmaurs, and the Master of Semple."

This *cumber drew over till the King was twelve years of age*, when he was ostensibly invested with the rights of sovereignty: but it appears from Pitscottie, that the power was substantially lodged in four nobles, the Lords Argyle, Angus, Lennox, St. Andrew, chosen to be *tutors* and *governors* to the King, "who remained in their custody a

" year, with great cheer, triumph, and mer-
" riness, till at the last there vaked some
" benefice, which put them all at discord
" for disposition of the same, for every
" lord thought he would be served accord-
" ing to his rule, and his state; but the
" Earl of Angus warred the other three,
" for when he had gotten Dunkeld, he
" would have had Coldingham, and could
" not be staiked so, but when Holyrood
" house vaked, he would have had it also,
" and shewed the lords he was scant of
" hay and corn when he came to the town,
" therefore he behoved to have that bene-
" fice with the lave to find his horsemeat:
" and the lave of the lords, considering
" the Earl of Angus's greediness, that he
" would not be content without that he had
" all at his disposition, and considered no-
" thing of their expences in the king's ser-
" vice, that they had made, as well as he.
" And the Earl of Lennox got nothing,
" wherefore he tired of the court, and past

" home to his own country; and so did the
" Earl of Arran to his own place. But
" bishop James Beaton remained still in
" Edinburgh in his own lodging, that he
" bigged in the Friers Wynde, for he might
" not pass out of the town, for he was
" chancellar for the time, and sat on the
" seat to use justice, and came never toward
" the court, nor the King, but as he was sent
" for. Thus the Earl of Angus guided the
" King and court as he pleased, and
" caused him to ride through all Scotland,
" under the pretence and colour of justice,
" to punish thief and traitor, but none
" (adds Pitscottie) were found greater
" than were in his own company. Farther
" he caused strike, a groat of eighteen pen-
" nies, which afterwards was called the
" Douglass groat, and none at that time
" durst strive with a Douglas nor yet
" a Douglas's men, for if they did, they
" got the worse, therefore, none durst
" plainzie of no extortion, theft, reiff, nor

" slaughter done to them by the Dou-
" glases or their men. In that cause they
" were not heard so long as the Douglases
" had the court in guiding. This still
" they continued a while so long as fortune
" bore them favor."

There is perhaps no state of thraldom more revolting than that, in which the oppressed party is tantalized and insulted, with the mock appendages of sovereignty. The young king felt with bitterness, that he was but the hostage of the Lords of Douglass, who, in his name, and by his authority, enacted whatever was most repugnant to his wishes and interests. Compelled to dissemble his indignation, he engaged first the Earl of Buccleugh, and afterwards the Earl of Lennox, to effect by armed force, his liberation from his oppressors. But the good fortunes of Angus prevailed in the first attempt, the Laird of Buccleugh being defeated; and in the second, the Earl of Lennox slain in the plain of Linlithgow, an

event which James deplored with tears, and secret vows of vengeance. Baffled, not subdued, the young king, at length escaped in the disguise of a groom, and having joined his mother at Stirling, promptly enforced measures to secure his future independence, by denouncing banishment or destruction on all who bore the name of Douglass. The next step taken by James, was to relieve his subjects from the depredations of the banditti, who had long committed every outrage with audacious impunity: delighting in active pursuits, he watched their haunts by day and night, attacked their chief, Armstrong, well known in the ballads of Scotland, made a judicial progress through the kingdom, presided personally in the Council courts, or, as they were called, *justice aires*, and finally established in Edinburgh a permanent court for civil causes, (the sessions house;) an act of sound policy, which, in some degree atoned for the cruelty with which he re-

venged, on the beautiful wife of Lord Lyons, the crime of having sprung from the blood of Douglass.* Without inheriting the elegance of his father's mind or manners, he participated in his taste for magnificence, and sometimes indulged in scenes of pomp and revelry. Like his predecessors, addicted to gallantry, he shewed little impatience to select a royal consort, and refused several Princesses, who successively were offered to his acceptance; but, at length, embarked for the Continent with ambitious aspirations for a daughter of Francis the First, and a sort of vague inclination to fall in love with Mary the daughter of the Duke of Vendome. Having proceeded to the Duke's palace under an assumed name, he at first

* The apologists of James pretend that he was incited to this cruelty, by the malice of an unsuccessful lover of the lady Jane, who, seeing her married to another, in revenge invented the charge of treason against her. There is a very interesting account of Jane in Hume of Godscroft, and in other old Scottish histories.

was received merely as a foreigner of distinction; but the Princess, who appears to have been deeply read in books of chivalry, had a romantic presentiment of his approach, and recognized him by his resemblance to a portrait, which in the true spirit of a heroine of romance, she had clandestinely procured from Scotland. The Duke, admiring his daughter's discernment, showered innumerable honors on the royal guest; during some days nothing was thought of but pleasure and gallantry; nor was it without dismay, that the enamoured Princess saw her volatile knight depart for Paris, where another royal lady was prepared to behold him with partial eyes. Magdalen, the eldest, and best beloved, daughter of Francis, who had long permitted her fancy to dwell on the attractions of the King of Scotland, at the first glance conceived for him an enthusiastic attachment. Already the devoted victim of pulmonary disease, she forgot her sufferings in his presence, and allowed herself to antici-

pate many years of life and happiness. The avowal of her predilection, alike flattering to vanity and ambition, decided the fickle monarch's choice, and Francis not daring to oppose Magdalen's wishes, the nuptials were solemnized with the utmost magnificence, and celebrated by the poet Ronsard in an epithalamium, which should rather have been an elegy, since the young Queen, who had knelt with fond enthusiasm to kiss the soil of Scotland, was in six weeks consigned to an untimely grave.

After her death, it might have been expected, if any principles of equity were recognised in the Courts of Love, that James should return to the deserted Mary of Vendome*; on the contrary, his election fell on Mary of Guise, the relict of the Duke of Longueville, whom he had lately seen at the court of Francis, a woman pos-

* The fate of this aggrieved Princess is left in obscurity. According to Pitscottie, she died of grief; other writers pretend that she retired from the world, and became a dignified abbess.

sessing every charm of person and manner, to captivate his volatile affections; but in his eyes, it was probably her highest excellence that she had rejected the addresses of his uncle, Henry the Eighth, who appears to have shared largely in the dislike which this Prince gratuitously bestowed on Englishmen. Hitherto James had been singularly favoured by fortune: allied to the monarchs of France and England, he had the satisfaction to witness the cordial friendship subsisting between these great potentates, which seemed to guarantee the future tranquillity of Scotland. Endeared to Francis, he saw himself courted by Henry, who, in his zeal to extend to the northern part of the island the principles of the reformation, solicited his nephew to meet him at York, for the express purpose of framing a system of religious union between the two kingdoms. Unhappily James was ill-disposed to listen to the proposal; that the reformation should have been recommended on the part of England, and discounte-

nanced by the example of France, was enough to ensure it his sincere aversion; but abstracted from national prejudices, he was withheld by Cardinal Beaton and the Bishops, on whom he chiefly depended for support against his refractory nobles, and to whose prayers and abjurations was added bribery, to deter him from allowing Henry the desired interview. That he was not swayed by sentiments of real devotion to the church, is evident from the indulgence, and even the patronage which he showed to Sir David Lindsay, and other satirical poets, who held up to shame and derision its popular ceremonies and superstitions: from whatever motives he was induced to reject Henry's overtures, the measure proved fatal to himself, and unfortunate to his country. Neither James nor Cardinal Beaton had sufficient authority to prevent the dissemination of Henry's principles: jealous of the clergy, and envious of the property they engrossed, many of the nobles had coalesced with the emissaries of the English monarch, and

scrupled not to become his pensioners. Surrounded with spies and traitors, it was in vain that the King displayed the antient banner of Scotland, even those who might have remained faithful to his interests, were alienated by the presence of his favorite, Oliver Sinclair. The disgraceful flight of Solway Moss, attested the prevalence of Henry's faction, and the King too late discovered, that the authority of the clergy formed no counterpoise to the refractory spirit of the nobility, sustained by the intrigues and artifices of a neighbouring kingdom: impatient of contradiction, and unable to brook an injury he wanted power to avenge, he sunk with unmanly weakness under the mortification he had incurred by his rashness, and died as he had lived, the slave of passion, and the victim of perfidy and suspicion. His last scene is touchingly described by Pitscottie:

A.D 1542

" The King past out of Holyrood house " to Falkland, and there became heavy and

" dolorous, that he never ate nor drank
" that had digestion, and so he became ve-
" hement sick that no man had hope of his
" life: then he sent for certain of his lords
" both spiritual and temporal, to have their
" counsel, but ere they came, he was well
" nigh strangled to death by extreme me-
" lancholy. By this the post came to the
" King out of Linlithgow, shewing him
" good tidings that the Queen was deliver-
" ed. The King enquired whether it was
" a man child or a woman; the messenger
" said, it is a fair daughter; the King an-
" swered, adieu! farewell, it come with a
" lass, and it will pass with a lass; and so
" he recommended himself to the mercy of
" Almighty God, and spake little from that
" time forth, but turned his back to his
" lords, and his face to the wall: at this
" time Laird Beaton, Cardinal of Scotland,
" standing in presence of the King, seeing
" him begin to fail of his strength, and na-
" tural speech, held a throch of paper to

" his grace, and caused him to subscribe
" the same, wherein the said Cardinal wrote
" what pleased him, for his own particular
" thinking, to have authority and pre-
" eminence in the government of the coun-
" try. But we may know hereby the
" King's legacy was very short, for in this
" manner he departed, as hereafter I shall
" show you. He turned him upon his back,
" and looked and beheld all his nobles and
" lords about him, and gave a little smile of
" laughter, then kissed his hand, and of-
" fered the same to all his nobles round
" about him, thereafter held up his hands,
" and yielded his spirit to God."

Henry is said to have deplored his nephew's untimely death, in the simple expression of—" *Woe is me*, for there will never " reign in Scotland a king so *sib* to me, nei- " ther whom I favoured so much, or so affec- " tuously wished for this conference, which " would have turned to joy, and benefit to us " both, if he had not been hindered by bad

"counsel." But the English monarch soon consoled himself, by projecting a marriage between his son Edward and the infant heiress of Scotland, a speculation suggested by sound political wisdom, and which promised to consolidate the interests and ensure the domestic tranquillity of both kingdoms. For this purpose he dismissed, on parole, the English lords lately captured at Solway Firth, many of whom were his secret pensioners; and delegated to Sadler, one of the ablest negociators of the age, the important task of realising his schemes of conciliation. The result of this mission was such as might have been expected by those who had opportunities of ascertaining the comparative strength of the antagonist parties in Scotland. The nobility were divided into the pensioners of England, the partizans of France, and a small band of insulated patriots tenacious of national honour and independence. The people were universally hostile to any measures originating in English counsels.

The clergy, who had naturally an interest in opposing the precursors of reformation, industriously fomented the jealousy and enmity which subsisted between the rival nations. In spite of these obstacles, Sadler appears to have flattered himself with anticipations of success; which might have been realized but for the feeble character of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the presumptive heir to the crown, whom the states had invested with the regency, and the intriguing spirit of Cardinal Beaton, who could ill brook to be supplanted by his nephew, and still less endure to be baffled by the despised sect of Reformers, to whom Arran was notoriously attached, and to whom he in part owed his advancement. To deprive him of this support, Beaton reminded his nephew that the legitimacy of his birth must be impeached, by the abrogation of papal supremacy, his mother, Jane Beaton, having been married to the Earl of Arran, by virtue of a dispensation obtained from the Consistorial Court,

whose authority was not recognized by the Reformers. To enforce this argument, the Cardinal invited from France, Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who, next to Arran, might boast his affinity to the young Queen, and who, according to antient law and usage, had a reversionary title to the regency.

Alarmed by these insinuations, and still more by the persuasion that the Queen Dowager was to marry Lennox, the Earl of Arran, with that duplicity which is the common resource of pusillanimous spirits, *privately* abjured his heresies, and at the same time *publicly* ratified by solemn oath the treaty of marriage; reconciled himself to his uncle*, at the moment that he was lavishing professions on the English ambassador, and finally coalesced with Lennox, whom he admitted to a participation in his official dignities. No sooner was peace concluded between the antagonist parties, than

* See Pitscottie. — Buchanan. — Sadler's State Papers.

the infant Queen, the innocent victim of their sinister intrigues, was removed from Linlithgow, the place of her nativity, to Stirling Castle, to be crowned according to antient usage, in the presence of the assembled states.

Nothing can so strongly prove with what superstitious veneration the Scottish people cherished the blood of their native princes, as, that notwithstanding the ungallant prejudice which had hitherto denied, even to a Queen Consort, her share in the royal pageant of a coronation, they should now be reconciled to the appalling novelty of a female sovereign. It was a sudden burst of patriotism, inspired by the name of Wallace and the memory of Bruce, which gave energy to this sentiment; and the inauguration of the infant Mary was the most popular event of her unfortunate reign.

On that occasion only, there was a momentary suspension of faction and rivalry. The nobility, with the exception of Henry's

pensioners, hastened to the hall to meet the numerous deputations of the clergy and people. The late competitors for the regency, whom Cardinal Beaton had incited to war, were now, by his mediation, united in apparent concord; the Earl of Arran bearing the crown, the Earl of Lennox the sceptre.

Animated by an enthusiastic impulse to resist the domination of England, all were eager to pronounce the vows of fealty and allegiance; the roof resounded with acclamations to the infant representative of Bruce, the first of her despised sex who had ever ascended the throne of Scotland: yet under this show and parade of loyalty, it would not have been difficult for a sagacious observer to discover the presages of anarchy and discord. By a singular coincidence, the fathers of Darnley and Bothwell, who were both present, had each aspired to the possession of the Queen mother's hand, and each indulged those ambitious hopes which their sons were destined to realise. The

aspect of these intriguing rivals was inauspicious to the infant sovereign; and the pageant of her coronation might be regarded "as the first scene in the tragedy of Mary Stuart." In a political view, its consequences were no less portentous; since Henry, no longer trusting to the regent's professions, with impolitic violence insulted the Scots, and thus furnished the opportunity his enemies desired, by taking to himself the blame of infringing the treaty. Hostilities recommenced, and with them a series of calamities which fatally arrested the progress of civilization. In the diplomatic correspondence of Sadler, it is amusing to observe with what courtly address the ambassador stigmatizes the *beastly* liberty to which the Scots were addicted; adding, not without adducing proofs of the assertion*, that force or fraud was the only

* "The Earl of Huntley is still at home in the north parts of this realm, where he hath much ado with my Lord Forbes, who hath slain many of the said

law, and that all disputes were ultimately referred to the sword. He should have known that Henry himself, by his officious interference, had aggravated the evils and multiplied the vices which he condemned. To the ferocity inspired by the southern invaders, was added the more fatal influence of English gold. The Anglican and Gallican interests divided the nobles,—the commons caught the contagion of venality and perfidy from their example. The red cross of England spread terror through the southern provinces; banditti infested the precincts of the towns; the most atrocious outrages might be committed with impunity; and, to fill up the measure of national wrongs and woes, the flames of persecution

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Earl's men. The difference betwixt them is for land, which the late King took from the said Lord Forbes, and gave it to the said Earl of Huntley and others of his sirname, called the Gordons; and now the said Earl of Forbes intendeth, if he can, to recover his land again with the sword, for other law or justice here hath little place."— *Sadler's State Papers.*

were kindled. At the fiat of Cardinal Beaton, the virtuous Wishart ascended the funereal pyre, and with his dying breath communicated his heresies to thousands, who, but for this impression, might never have ventured to rebel against ecclesiastical despotism.

The subsequent murder of this enterprising churchman still more strikingly illustrates the spirit and manners of his age. That a band of sixteen conspirators should have surprised the castle of St. Andrew's, overpowered its guards, and, in defiance of numerous domestics, forced their way to the Bishop's chamber, is in itself a transaction sufficiently extraordinary; but when we discover that this atrocious enterprise was conducted by no less a personage than Norman Leslie, the son and heir of the Earl of Rothes, and that his associates were not mercenaries but men of birth and undisputed reputation; when we find enrolled among them the brave Kirkaldy of Grange, the

most gallant knight of Scotland, and learn that the criminals not only defied punishment, but escaped infamy, it is impossible not to conclude either that society had here retrograded, or that it had never emerged from the barbarism which enveloped Europe in the middle ages.

In a country where force was law, the profession of a freebooter must have been comparatively respectable; and it is a curious fact, that the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, by taking possession of his castle, opened the first asylum for the Reformers in Scotland. A coalition was quickly formed between the persecuted heretic and the hardy outlaw. The ministry of Knox, enforced by rules of military discipline, gradually introduced order and decency; and this garrison, composed of men not unworthy, to have descended from Wallace, during a siege of two years, not only baffled the Governor's efforts to reduce it to obedience, but offered, perhaps, an example of one of the

best regulated communities in the kingdom. In other respects, the Cardinal's death afforded no relief to the reforming party, since Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, (the Earl of Arran's illegitimate brother,) had succeeded to his see, and to his system of coercion. Above all, he emulated him in personal ambition; and it was probably at his suggestion that a marriage-treaty was secretly concluded between the Earl of Arran's eldest son (the Master of Hamilton) and the young Queen. But this speculation was frustrated by the address and sagacity of a female politician, to whose talents even the spirit of party has rendered justice, and whose reputation, with the exception of one polemical adversary*, none have dared to impeach. This was no other than Mary the Queen Dowager; a princess in whose errors may be traced the spirit and prejudices of her family, but who possessed moral and intellectual qualities which,

* Knox.

under happier circumstances, might have rendered her the ornament and delight of society.

Sprung from a house of which it had long been the boast that its sons were brave and its daughters chaste, Mary of Guise not only appears to have placed her chief happiness in promoting its interests, but to have been persuaded that she yielded to an imperative call of duty in holding every object subordinate to its honour and exaltation. Born in an age, and fitted for a station, in which dissimulation instead of being reprobated was respected, and even commended as the concomitant of sagacity and wisdom *, she never scrupled to conceal or even to disguise her sentiments, when policy dictated concealment, and often misled those whom she considered as her adversaries, by that

* Throgmorton, the English ambassador, in a conversation with Mary Stuart, at Paris, (1562,) in praising this princess, expressly says, "and she was inferior to none in dissimulation." — CABALA.

partial revelation of truth which operates not less decidedly than positive falsehood. To her kinsmen of Lorrain she appears to have been ever faithful, ingenuous, and sincere, and (unfortunately for herself, her daughter, and Scotland,) was accustomed to submit to them not her inclination only, but her better judgment; in this single instance, her masculine understanding confessed the weakness, or rather the sympathies peculiar to the female character. Like other royal dames, she scrupled not, for political views, to receive the addresses of ambitious suitors*, and by smiles and blandishments, often baffled the schemes and artifices of her powerful adversaries. It was by gaiety and frankness that she alternately blinded Sadler or deceived Arran: even the Cardinal himself had not been exempted from her influence. Submitting with impatience to her exclusion from the regency, she eagerly seized the moment to secure to her daughter an alliance with

one of the greatest monarchs of Europe. The death of Henry the Eighth produced no change in her prospects, since his system of aggression continued to be pursued by the protector; but the demise of Francis the First opened to the house of Lorrain a new and brilliant perspective, and through their agency, a treaty of marriage between her daughter and the Dauphin was proposed at the French court. Without doubt it required all the Queen Dowager's address to induce the Earl of Arran and his brother to commute his son's reversionary pretensions on her daughter's sceptre, for the promise of a ducal title in France, and a substantial pension. Even after this victory was achieved, a more difficult task remained,—to persuade the states of Scotland to consent to the marriage and expatriation of their native sovereign; and nothing could have been less seasonable to her wishes than the pacific dispositions which the protector manifested (in 1557,) when he

addressed a conciliatory letter to the Governor, offering peace and amity to Scotland, on the simple condition, that the young Queen should neither be married nor sent out of the kingdom till she should be of an age to make her own election. Aware of the impression, which a proposition so moderate and judicious was calculated to produce, the Earl of Arran suppressed this document, and by that disingenuous procedure decided Mary's fate.

After the famous battle of Musselburgh, the Scots, more than ever exasperated against their English invaders, sacrificing both patriotism and prudence to vindictive feelings, rashly embraced the proposals of France, by which, without obtaining any of those advantages to be derived from an union with England, they inevitably compromised their national independence.

It is easy to conceive with what exultation Mary of Guise witnessed the consummation of those schemes which had so long

engaged her attention. As a foreigner, she could not sympathise in the feelings of indignant patriotism with which every true-born Scot revolted from the idea of Gallic or English dominion; as a mother, she might be permitted to triumph, in having, according to all human probability, rescued her from the innumerable difficulties and perils incident to a Scottish monarch. Nor was it perhaps the least cause of felicitation, that she should thus be preserved from the guilt and shame attendant on heretical apostacy; above all, as a daughter of Guise, she exulted in the prospect of an accession of dignity to her house, and in having extended its influence in the counsels of Europe.

Whatever political objections might exist to the expatriation of Mary as a sovereign, to herself, as an individual of the female sex, it promised, and even secured, incalculable advantages. It is a trite remark, that the condition of women in society is determin-

ed by the scale of comparative civilisation. In Scotland, as might have been expected, the most unequivocal contempt was avowed for the softer sex; and either as the objects of passion or indifference, they appear to have been equally subjected to brutal treatment. Among a people where might was right, and force was law, they could have little chance of inspiring the respect or obtaining the influence which they ought to possess in domestic life; nor is it surprising, if, under such circumstances, they were in general found to be destitute of delicacy, and little attentive to decorum. In an age where public opinion was so little regarded that prelates and abbots * lived avowedly with their mistresses, and, without scruple, celebrated the nuptials of their acknowledged children; in such an age, women were not likely

* Cardinal Beaton solemnised with splendour the nuptials of his daughter a few days previous to his assassination: he is, however, said to have married her mother before he entered the church.

to be very tenacious of reputation: and according to Pitscottie, and other writers, ladies of rank often condescended to live with ecclesiastical dignitaries as their acknowledged paramours. The celebrated Marian Ogilvy, the daughter of a nobleman, submitted to this disgrace for the sake of Cardinal Beaton; and the daughter of Lord Semple forsook a husband to live with his successor, in the see of St. Andrews, and by her influence screened from punishment her father, who had killed Lord Crichton within the walls of the episcopal palace. The facilities which were offered for obtaining divorces must have been prejudicial to the female character, and endless was the mischief resulting from subsequent marriages.*

* Of this an example was furnished by Lesley, Earl of Rothes, who, having privately espoused a daughter of Lord Crichton, had by her a son, the notorious Norman Lesley, the principal agent in the murder of Cardinal Beaton; soon after whose birth, he was induced to contract a second regular marriage with

With these rude manners was often exhibited a luxurious though inelegant prodigality, announcing rather the corruption, than the amelioration of society. The love of finery appears to have been as prevalent in Scotland as in any court of Europe; and, if we may at all credit the details of contemporaneous writers, the vices of other nations had been transplanted to this northern soil, without the graces, or even the virtues congenial to a better order of things, and which are almost inseparably connected with the diffusion of knowledge, literature, refine-

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Nicholas, the more wealthy daughter of Sir John Somerville, by whom he had three children; but this lady dying, after an interval of twenty-four years, he thought proper to re-solemnize his nuptials with the dishonoured Margaret Crichton, and consequently to legitimate Norman his eldest son, who was from that time designated the Master of Rothes. Many similar examples might be produced, and among them, that of Patrick Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, who had dissolved his union with Agnes, the mother of the too notorious Earl James, afterwards so fatal to the Queen of Scots.

ment, and cultivation.* It is a curious fact that the rise of religious controversy, which in polished nations has been found fatally to arrest the progress of civilization, was in Scotland the harbinger of moral and intellectual improvement. In a feudal state of society, it was no trivial advantage to discover a principle of attraction more powerful than local sympathies or clannish attachments, and to concentrate in a common object, the energies previously wasted in upholding the personal or hereditary rivalities of a Hamilton or Douglas. From this moment the people came to be recognized as opposing opinion to authority, and were thus gradually prepared for that complete and extraordinary revolution, so soon to take place in the manners and sentiments, the character and conduct of the whole community.

* See Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History.—Stuart's History of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YOUNG QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD. — THE FOUR MARIES. — EMBARKATION. — ESSE, STROZZI, VILLEGAGNON. — REMARKS ON THE COMPARATIVE MORALS OF THE FRENCH COURT. — THE FRENCH COMPARED WITH OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS. — CHARACTER OF DIANA DE POITIERS. — OF THE CONSTABLE MONTMORENCY. — OF THE COLIGNYS. — LIBERAL OPINIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT. — REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE KING AGAINST THE OMNIPOTENCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS.

FROM the hour of her birth (the 7th December, 1542,) to the moment of her expatriation, the heiress of James the Fifth had been surrounded as a prisoner, with sentinels and fortified walls, or, as a fugitive, transferred to various places of strength and comparative security. During two years after her coronation, she had been permitted to re-

main in Stirling Castle, in the custody of the Earls of Livingston and Mar, who, at the peril of life and fortune, guaranteed her safety. But in the rapid progress of the English invaders, when even the castellated walls of Stirling were deemed inadequate to her personal safety, she was removed to the isle of Inchmahom, on the lake of Monteith, a romantic spot, rarely visited but for purposes of devotion, which, by its position, seemed to bid defiance to an hostile intruder. The arrival of the French fleet was the signal for her removal, attended by the curators of her person, and two nominal tutors, John Erskine, the prior of Inchmahom, and Alexander Scott, the parson of Balmacellan. The real charge of her tuition devolved on her nurse, Janet Sinclair*, afterwards liberally recompensed; and on her governess and kinswoman, the

* The wife of one John Kemp, to whom a liberal grant was made by the crown. — *Chalmers'* 4to. *edition.*

Lady Fleming, a natural daughter of James the Fourth, married to the unfortunate nobleman who was slain at the battle of Pinkie. Over nurse, governess, and tutors presided Mary of Guise, with all the vigilance of maternal affection, guided by a discriminating, superior intelligence. Sensible that the important objects of education were likely to be promoted by a system of social tuition, she pursued, with her daughter, the plan she had seen successfully adopted in the Royal Family of France, of establishing in the court a little school, of which all the members should be equally associated as sister pupils. For this purpose, she selected four girls, nearly of her daughter's age, each bearing the name of Mary, of whom the first was Mary Beaton, a niece of the Cardinal; the second Mary Fleming, the daughter of Lord Fleming, before-mentioned; the third was Mary Livingston, whose father has been already noticed as one of the curators of

the Queen's person; the fourth was Mary Seaton, whose father, Lord Seaton, was ever faithfully devoted to the Royal Family. With these chosen companions, the young Queen had willingly migrated from Stirling to Inchmahom, and either from their example, or the judicious management of her governess, soon acquired a docility and gentleness, which were the more extraordinary, as she appears to have inherited from her father a keen susceptibility of temper rarely associated with patience and forbearance. In her seclusion at Inchmahom, according to the plan of early tuition universally prevalent, Mary had been initiated in the rudiments of the Latin, French, and Italian languages, when her studies were interrupted by the appearance of three French gallies in the Clyde. With her female companions, she was precipitately removed to the Castle of Dumbarton, and from that romantic spot, every object of whose bold and beautiful scenery has been

immortalized in Scottish song, finally embarked for her adopted country. It is worthy of remark, that those who assisted in the transportation of Mary Stuart, were men of high military or naval reputation, opposed in party, and often engaged in domestic rivalship. Of these, M. D'Esse, who remained with the French troops, in Scotland, was attached to the House of Guise. Leon Strozzi, a kinsman of Catharine de Medicis, was equally characterized by native intrepidity and scientific skill. There was another individual associated in this undertaking, of versatile talents, and a character still more distinguished, the brave Admiral Villegagnon, protected by the Colignys, and, like them, the advocate of religious toleration, who, some years after, founded, in Rio Janeiro, a settlement for the persecuted Calvinists, which, owing to polemical controversy, was soon abandoned, and finally transferred to the Portuguese, under whose auspices it was destined to become the fatal seat of Catholic bigotry.

It was late in July before Mary was conveyed on board the galley prepared for her reception, and it has been the boast of her biographers*, that, though in parting from her mother she was seen to weep, no murmurs escaped her lips. It was otherwise with her subjects, of whom few could witness, without indignant regret, her departure as a fugitive from her own dominions, and of whom many anticipated danger or treachery to their queen, and to themselves subjection and dependence. But their gloomy apprehensions prevented not a copious migration to France, composed not only of friends and attendants, but of adventurers eager to avail themselves of the naturalization offered by Henry the Second, to pursue their career of fortune, or to secure to their children the advantages of superior cultivation.

To be educated in France, was not then as it afterwards became, to be trained in

* Conæus in Jebb.

habits of frivolity and dissipation, but to be imbued with the love of literature, inured to the rigour of scholastic discipline, and inspired with a generous ambition to excel in classical studies and liberal pursuits. Nor was it from Scotland only that an influx of youthful strangers collected in those Gallic schools and colleges, which, with truly royal munificence, were gratuitously opened to their reception. At this moment, a variety of circumstances conspired to render France the chosen seat of the Muses. Under Louis the Twelfth, and his brilliant successor, learning held a real, not an imaginary sceptre, which extended over a considerable part of Europe; and in the history of that age, we shall find that the accomplished scholar, like an oriental mandarin, was raised, by the exercise of superior intellect, to a sort of independent nobility, the more honorable, as it was exempted from the adulation imposed on the professed courtier. It is well known, that Erasmus, the

correspondent of three great monarchs, lived and died in indigent but dignified independence, and that when Francis determined on re-modelling the university of Paris*, he was aided in his patriotic intention

* According to the French historians, Francis was instigated to this munificent undertaking by Cardinal du Bellay and Guillaume Budé. The university of Paris had long existed, but involved in scholastic barbarism. Without abrogating its constitutional privileges, the king erected six colleges, to which were attached six professors, with a salary of 200 crowns to each, for the study of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, the mathematics, medicine, and moral philosophy. In addition to this establishment, it had even been proposed to educate and maintain, at the charge of the state, 600 pupils, who were to be thus prepared for the liberal professions. It had been originally intended that the revenues of several rich abbeys should be appropriated to the expences attending this institution; although this design was afterwards abandoned, the recent colleges continued to flourish; and Henry the Second created a new professorship for Latin oratory; emulation was excited equally among the different professors and their pupils; several valuable works issued from their press; and but for the interruption of the civil wars, the original conception of Francis, or rather of his adviser, Du Chatel, would have been realized. During the rage

by that illustrious recluse, who thus became his colleague in the only enterprize he ever attempted, really worthy of an enlightened mind, and which alone, of all his elaborate plans and splendid achievements, has merited the gratitude of his own nation, or challenged the admiration of impartial posterity. It was a noble and distinguishing feature of these improvements, that their fruits were not withheld from individuals of any rank or country; the six new professors of philology, mathematics, and the belles-lettres, hereafter to be maintained at the royal charge, delivered gratuitous instructions to as many students as could be collected within the walls of their aca-

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of intolerance and persecution, the university of Paris maintained, with its privileges, its liberal principles; foreigners were freely admitted to the schools, and even eligible to each chair; nor was it till the year 1610, that it was required of each member to make a formal profession of the Roman Catholic faith. — *See Garnier's Histoire de France; also Reformation del Université de Paris. Published in* 1640.

demies. In contemplating the spirit of this institution, which, however imperfect in its organization, was meant to become an university, open to all mankind, we should wish to forget that barbarous extermination of the unoffending Vaudois, which was decreed and consummated during this monarch's reign*,

" * A remnant of the Vaudois had long been shel-
" tered in the gorge of the mountainous district which
" divides Piedmont from Dauphiny; their only occupa-
" tion was to tend their herds; once a week they assem-
" bled in religious communion, and listened to the ex-
" position of certain barbes or elders of the Scriptures;
" to which was added a discourse, interlarded with
" invectives against Popes and Cardinals. It was not
" till the year 1530 that they heard of Luther, when
" they sent two deputies to confer with him, and,
" finally, after some controversy, acceded to the
" union of Calvin. Their territory was comprized in
" the little state of Venaissin, the town of Colriere, in
" Provence, and a few villages; but their insignifi-
" cance did not protect them from the denuncia-
" tions of the Archbishop of Aix; and, in 1543 an
" edict was issued for razing the walls of Merindol.
" The Count de Grignon, refusing to put this order
" in execution, the King sent Cardinal du Bellay to
" investigate the transaction, and, from his favorable
" report, the sentence was suspended. At length,

the indiscriminate slaughter of 7000 simple and defenceless mountaineers, whose only crime it was, that they presumed to reject the tyranny despotically imposed by Popes, Prelates, and Inquisitors, and persisted in worshipping God according to the dictates of reason and conscience. On the moral character of Francis, this enormous and unmanly outrage has left an indelible stain, without even the miserable palliative of superstitious imbecility, which might be alleged in behalf of persecuting zealots, since it is notorious that his understanding

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" owing to a private quarrel between the Countess " de Cental and the Baron d'Oppeda, a fresh perse- " cution was excited against these unhappy people; " and Francis having signed the decree for their ruin, " Baron d'Oppeda, under pretence of levying troops " for the war with England, surrounded the Vau- " dois, who, unsuspicious of the meditated outrage, " left not their home till too late to shun destruc- " tion; the men were butchered, the women brutally " sacrificed, and of 7000 individuals, only a few " stragglers were permitted to escape." — *Garnier's* " *Histoire de France, tome* xiii.

revolted from the extravagant pretensions he affected to support, and that far from venerating the church, whose usurpations he vindicated, he was scarcely more delicate than Henry the Eighth of England, in seizing and appropriating its possessions to the exigencies of the state *, and as little scrupled to sanction or introduce innovations and abuses to promote his own convenience and advantage. It was obviously not superstition, but policy, which impelled Francis to sustain the papal cause, when, under the impious pretext of

* It was a saying of Francis the First, that Monks were good for nothing but to frequent taverns, play at dice, to twist strings for the crossbow, manufacture fur pockets, or teach linnets to whistle, and that they tippled and gormandized to cheat the hours of idleness. — BRANTOME.

From the same writer we learn, that the ecclesiastical elections were usually characterized by violence or intrigue: in the conclave of Cardinals, the election of a Pope proceeded with the utmost decorum; in a chapter of Monks, on the contrary, the parties appear to have often passed from words to blows. — *Garnier, Histoire de France*, tome xiii.

defending the cross, he perpetrated cruelties abhorrent to the Gospel, and, in the true spirit of oriental tyranny, joined the impious crusade against the rights of reason, justice, and humanity.

It is somewhat extraordinary that the same mind in which policy and ambition had destroyed all delicacy of moral feeling, should have retained its original and generous ardor for disseminating science and learning; and that the prince, who was himself jealous of the authority of conscience, should have been ambitious to raise a temple to knowledge, forgetting that such was also the shrine of liberty. In opening his academy to Europe, he not only exalted France in the scale of nations, but imparted to it that internal consciousness of elevation, that enthusiasm for national superiority, which forces pride and other equivocal passions into a cordial alliance with honor, magnanimity, probity, and benevolence: it was in this spirit

that Francis, Duke of Guise, refused to a Spanish General, the restitution of a Moorish slave, alleging that the laws of France did not recognize the rights of the master over the slave. Proud of the fair fame which the munificence of their sovereign had procured to their country, the French nobles became more than ever anxious to discharge the duties of hospitality, and eager even to assert their participation in the blessings of civil liberty, forgetting, with pardonable inconsistency, how heavily feudal usages weighed on their own oppressed peasantry. Sentiments such as these, indicated a rapid developement of intelligence and civilization; and, whilst the country remained in a state of internal tranquillity, in great measure qualified or mitigated the evils originating in a defective constitution.*

In the southern parts of Europe, the increasing power of the Inquisition had paralysed the understanding, and perverted the

* See Pasquier's Recherches sur la France.

feelings of the people; the fairest provinces of Italy were degraded by subjection to foreign usurpation; and, in Rome, if we may credit even Catholic writers, hypocrisy was omnipotent, and venality universal. *

England had but partially emerged from the barbarism so fatally prolonged during the contentions of York and Lancaster.

In Germany, attention was almost exclusively fixed on religious disquisitions. In France alone the genius of modern Italy had inspired an enthusiasm for the resuscitation of letters and the arts, more truly glorious than the sceptre of conquest, or the wreath of triumph.

It has been usual with the biographers of Mary Stuart to represent the age of Henry as unparalleled in vice and profligacy, and

* A lively picture of the political grievances and general vices of Rome is presented by orthodox poets; and in general the declension of morals in France is traced to the influence of Italy. — JOACHIM DU BELLAY.

to attribute the errors and misfortunes of this Princess to its libertine principles and contagious examples. That the political system which prevailed at this court was ill calculated to establish harmony and confidence between the sovereign and the people, is indeed but too clearly demonstrated by the whole tenor of its history; but the opinion that Mary, as a woman, was exposed to seductions, from which in Scotland or England, she might have been exempted, appears to have arisen from the habit of identifying the reign of Henry the Second with the regency of Catherine de Medicis, when the malignant passions excited by religious and political dissensions, conspired with the calamities of civil war, to break down those barriers of honor, probity, and fidelity, which had hitherto belonged to the national character; whilst unprincipled rulers, and their mischievous ministers, plunged the deluded people into an abyss of misery and crimes, and sacrificed to a flagitious

doctrine of expediency, whatever was held dear or sacred in public and private life. But the turpitude of those actions neither attaches to the primitive French character nor belongs to the age of Henry the Second; when it was the boast of their heroes, that they shewed mercy to a fallen foe, and the prayer of their patriots, that cruelty and perfidy, the vices common to Italy and Spain, might never be transplanted to their happier soil. Let the names of the chancellor Olivier, the President Du Thou of L'Hopitel; attest, that in their day the authority of virtue was at least acknowledged, if not always implicitly obeyed; above all, let the imperishable example of Anne du Bourg vindicate his contemporaries from the imputations too justly incurred by the succeeding age. Never could such men have sprung up amid a radically depraved and corrupt society. Genius may be insulated and solitary, but there are virtues which represent the moral sensibilities and intellectual capacities of

the people. Never were principles, such as actuated these high-minded, upright, benevolent men, derived from the schools of anarchy or slavery; the reigns of terror and oppression, which prevailed under Charles the Ninth, and his successor. The champion of humanity might be found but not formed in the tempest that desolated France, and is still less to be discovered in that sullen calm which followed under Louis the Fourteenth, when the last struggle for the rights of conscience had ceased, and the iron tongue of despotism pronounced a fatal requiem over the grave of civil and religious freedom. — The same causes which operated on national character, were likely to produce a deterioration equally rapid and remarkable in the manners of the French court. Under Francis and Henry was preserved, at least the exterior of order and decorum, and according to the judgment of those who then lived and flourished, it was the school of politeness and good

taste. Women were there found who participated in the learning of the other sex, and equally by their talents, and their virtues, diffused an inexpressible charm over the intercourse of domestic life: nor is it credible that female frailty should have been countenanced by such women, as the Princess Margaret, the exemplary Anne of Este, the noble minded Dame de la Roye, and her amiable daughter Eleanor, the Princess of Condé, not to mention the Duchess of Nevers, the austere wife of Montmorency, and other ladies, who, during the reign of Henry, gave the tone to fashionable society. From the most superficial glance of the female costumes at this era, it is obvious that the ladies had not deviated from the modest style of Anne of Brittany: it was reserved for Catherine de Medicis to introduce that meretricious style of dress, so often the theme of calvinistic reprobation; but perhaps the strongest proof that can be adduced of subsequent perversion and corrup-

tion of manners, is the contrast of character exemplified in the three daughters of Catharine, of whom Elizabeth and Claude, both of exemplary virtue, were married before Henry's death; whilst of their sister Margaret, it may fairly be assumed that her levity of conduct originated in the profligate habits and corrupt principles which prevailed under the minority of her execrable brother.

As it was in Henry's court that Mary Stuart was educated, as it was from the French nation she imbibed those sentiments and opinions which probably gave the colour to her future destiny, it may not be impertinent to take a rapid glance of this eventful period, nor unpleasing for one moment to contemplate France, under a phasis never again to be exhibited, when the gigantic image of the old feudal monarchy was still seen lingering in the glorious morning light that suddenly broke on Europe, and the genius of departed ages seemed not to chide, but to welcome the spirit of modern

improvement. Although Henry possessed no personal qualities, worthy to inspire esteem or admiration, his reign, as supplemental to that of Francis, acquires considerable interest, and, when contrasted with succeeding times, is mournfully endeared to remembrance. Though not the last of the race of Valois, we take in him our farewell look of primitive France, the land of the Franks, the gallant people renowned in song, glorious in arms, lovely in peace, warm-hearted though proud and presumptuous, whose indigenous virtues of good faith and feudal hospitality, were not spoiled, but ripened by the arts of cultivation, with whom honor was passion, and loyalty, devotion. With Henry, terminates the romantic era of French history; and it is scarcely possible with indifference to part from the brilliant and festive company, who basked with him in the sunshine of joy and prosperity, unconscious of the desolating tempest about to break on their devoted country; nor can

we help giving a sigh to the reflection, that if with Francis, the tide of national energy first rose, it was for Henry, that it bore in triumph the "*fleet of poets,*" (as Pasquier happily expresses it,) rejoicing in their course. It was with Henry too, that the bravest captains of the age became the most accomplished writers; that women of illustrious rank, in imitation of the second Margaret, (the King's sister) aspired to the patronage of genius, and without deserting the graces, erected an altar to the muses.

The reign of Henry was one bright speck among surrounding clouds of darkness: never was so fair a spring so cruelly blasted, — never were the consequences of civil feuds, and religious bigotry, so fatally illustrated. It is, however, not to be denied, that these consequences might in part be referred to the original defects in the structure of the old monarchy; whose massive frame, coeval with barbarous times, was ill adapted to the exigencies of an adult and

intelligent society, and whose imposing grandeur neither concealed, nor atoned for the inconveniences resulting from the positive and inflexible lines of demarcation which insulated the different orders of society. Abstractedly considered, the sovereign was the central point of union; but in reality, the preponderance of particular, over general interests, the want of a common principle of sympathy and co-operation, disturbed the harmony,—impeded the energies which are found to exist in a well organized community.

The nobility of France * was not only subdivided into upper and lower classes, but even the Princes of the blood, and Lords of Royal lineage, outnumbered the peerage of England and the baronage of Scotland. The inferior nobility were already multiplied to a degree that excited astonishment and dissatisfaction in septuagenary censors, and appended to them was a constantly in-

* Laboureur. — Pasquier's Recherches sur la France.

creasing class of gentry of the knightly order. The great Princes, like independent chiefs, maintained their bands of military retainers. The great Lords, in imitation of Princes, displayed an almost equally prodigal magnificence. The poorer nobility became the satellites of the rich; but, with the exception of such as entered the church, they were all trained to arms, and from infancy imbued with a passion for martial glory.* Honor and loyalty comprised the soldier's moral code; and the veteran, with feudal simplicity, summed up in one king,—one faith,—one law, the whole compendious system of civil and religious policy. The sentiments of chivalrous gallantry which animated this military community, often prompted generous efforts and meritorious sacrifi-

* Brantome complains that the ceremony of accolation, once held so precious, was now vulgarized by the facility with which it was bestowed; knights and demoiselles having been multiplied till they had become more numerous than squires formerly were.—*Life of Charles the Eighth.*

ces, not unworthy to have been inspired by patriotism, or dictated by integrity. Even in the Court, the operation of Machiavelian policy had not wholly effaced the love of truth. The name of the high-minded La Trimouille, the example of the heroic Bayard, were still dear and sacred; and those who aspired not to virtuous conduct, had at least sufficient feeling to offer the tribute of respect to virtuous fame. The prevalence of duels, however repugnant to reason and religion, evinced that jealous sense of honor in one sex, which could scarcely be compatible with notorious dereliction of duty in the other; and the fatal combat of Chataigneraye and Jarnac affords sufficient proof that reflections on a lady's chastity must be expiated with blood.

Enterprising and courageous, the citizens of Paris derived from their municipal rights and privileges, a lofty consciousness of participation in national greatness, which inspired corresponding sentiments of loyalty,

patriotism, and fidelity. The church was here, as in other countries, an engine of stupendous power; but ecclesiastical tribunals were not omnipotent. For the convicted heretic was still reserved the privilege of appeal to the parliament, which often arrested arbitrary measures, or tempered those evils it could not wholly prevent.

The parliament*, though less numerous

* "The readers must be cautioned against confounding the constitution of the parliament of France with that of the parliament of England. The origin of each is traced to the great national assemblies of the tribes who conquered the Roman empire. In almost every country where the feudal institutions have been established, the national council, under the name of states-general, cortes, plaids, great assizes, or parliament, or under some other name, was introduced, and gradually became composed of three states, — the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. Their functions were not only judicial, but, as their consent was necessary to give to the ordinances of the King the effect of law, they were also legislative. In course of time, the parliament of England became divided into its two houses, the Lords and Commons, and, together with the King, constituted the legislature of the nation. But its judicial power generally fell into

than even the higher class of nobility, and not constituting a distinct order in the state, seemed destined, in some measure, to repair the evils and counteract the mischief committed or prepared by them against society. Like the church, it was open to individuals of every class, but offered few temptations to the junior nobles, who preferred the affluence and dignity enjoyed by the superior clergy, to the laborious pursuits and moderate remuneration which awaited the legal student. No contrast could be more strik-

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disuse, except in cases which were brought before the House of Lords by appeal. The reverse happened in almost every country on the continent. In them the parliament gradually lost its legislative authority, and subsided into a high court of justice, for the last resort, and court of royal revenue. It generally consisted of a fixed number of ecclesiastical peers, a fixed number of lay peers, and a fixed number of counsellors. All were equally judges, and had an equal right of giving their opinions, and an equal voice in their decrees. Such was the constitution of the French parliament, when L'Hopital was received into it."—*Life of Michel L'Hopital, by Charles Butler.*

ing than that of the magnificent palace of the Bishop of Paris, with its voluptuous elegance of painting and decoration, and the simple household and frugal habits of the Chancellor Olivier, and the Judges who "sat in the hall from six in the morning till "the beadle announced the hour of ten, when "they went to dinner, afterwards resumed "the hearing of causes till six in the after-"noon, then retired to their homes to the re-"creation of study, to the luxury of books, "and the society of their domestic friends."* It cannot be denied that the parliament of Paris, the supreme court of judicature, was sometimes polluted by error, venality, and chicanery, but it more often upheld the majesty of the laws, or asserted the rights of humanity, or defended its venerable prerogatives from the encroachments of a vicious government. Abuses and errors were indeed multiplied by the absurd practice of making duties and legislative functions he-

* See Life of Michel D'Hopital, by Charles Butler.

reditary and transferable. A counsellor's robe was not unfrequently the son's patrimony or the daughter's dower; but *public opinion* pronounced against incompetent advocates, sordid magistrates, and venal judges; and the corrective influence which it thus exercised over society is a sufficient proof of the comparative progress which had been made in refinement and civilization.

The Gallican clergy engrossed not, as in Scotland, the larger moiety of the landed possessions, and they preserved at least an exterior of decency and propriety in conduct. The sagacity of Francis, without resorting to the violent measures employed by Henry the Eighth, had discovered an expedient, almost equally useful, for converting ecclesiastical property to his own advantage, when, under pretence of restoring to ancient families the patrimony which by pious fraud had been alienated from their ancestors, he rewarded the services of his noble soldiers by giving them, *in commendam*, some

of the richest sees and abbacies in the kingdom.* As Francis had persecuted the heretics, his appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues escaped censure. This prince had ever held the privileges of the church subordinate to the interests of the state; but it was otherwise with his successor, who, though by nature kind, good humoured, and debonair, had imbibed from bigotry a predisposition to persecution, which anticipated the calculations of policy, and eagerly seconded its fatal suggestions. Nor was this the only instance in which he betrayed his incompetence, by personal qualities, to correct, or even palliate, the defects of the political system. From his predecessor he had confessedly received no lessons of economy; but he copied him rather in prodigality than munificence, when he bestowed

* The abuse furnished ground for complaint; but if we may credit Brantome, the lay incumbent generally devolved the duties of preaching and praying on humble, but not incompetent, instructors.

on a female favorite, the celebrated Diana de Poictiers, an office comprising one of the most lucrative branches of the royal revenue*, an instance of facility which too plainly evinced how little he had learnt to command himself.

Under Louis the Twelfth, and Francis the First, the Princes of the blood, encircled by their noble satellites, had offered a lively representation of the Peers or Paladins of the elder monarchy, but from the moment of Henry's accession, they exhibited a sort of political tournament, in which the chiefs of Bourbon and Lorraine were ever eager to enter the lists as challengers or defendants, leaving the King, the favorite, and the minister to follow in their train, as aids and assistants.

Among those great Corrivals who aspired to be the leaders of a party, the

* This was an office empowering her to demand a premium on all royal grants, offices, pensions; and also on all confiscations of property for heresy.

princes of Bourbon*, presuming on their affinity to the house of Valois, challenged to itself certain exclusive rights and prero-

* Extract from page 450, *of the Memoires of Amelot d'Houssaye:* — "The House of Bourbon derives "its descent from Robert, fourth son of St. Louis, "who had for his portion the county of Clermont, in "Beavoisis, and espoused Beatrice of Burgundy, "who, in right of her mother, inherited the Barony "of Bourbon; Beatrice had three sons, of whom the "eldest, named Louis, erected the county into a "Duchy.

"Mathew Paris, an English historian, pretends, "that Robert, having incurred the displeasure of the "King, his father, was, in consequence, deprived of "the name of France, and compelled to substitute "that of Bourbon, and that the offended Monarch "even left a malediction on his son, praying God that "the descendants of Robert might never possess the "crown of France.

"The elder branch of the Bourbons ended in "Susanna, only daughter of Messire Gilbert, whose "brother was Charles, the celebrated Constable "Bourbon, who died in rebellion to Francis the First, "at the siege of Rome, 1527. The Duchess Anne, "of France, is said to have given him, in marriage, "her youthful daughter, to disappoint the wishes of "the Countess d'Angoulême.

"The second branch of the House of Bourbon,

gatives, resenting, as an injury to themselves and their nation, the increasing favor and influence of the princes of Lorraine. Against these, it was alleged, that they were foreigners by descent, whom cupidity and ambition had drawn from the land of

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" called De la Marche or Carencey, ended in Isabel " de Bourbon, wife of Francis d'Escars, the Lord of " Vaugion, and in Jane de Bourbon, wife of Francis " de Roulen, Lord of Beauchamp. The branch of " Francis de Bourbon, Count de St Pol, son of Fran- " cis de St. Pol, and of Adriana, daughter of John " Sire V. Estoutèville, ended in Mary of Bourbon " his heiress, who, by marriage, transferred the estates " of St. Pol to the House of Orleans, Longueville.

" The Counts of Vendome were descended from " the Counts de la Marche and les Montpensiers, " from the Counts de Vendome, who were created " Dukes in 1515, in the person of Charles, son of " Francis, Count of Vendome; Charles was the father " of Anthony, who, by marriage, became King of " Navarre, and father of Henry, who, by the extinc- " tion of the House of Valois, arrived at the Crown. " Exclusive of Anthony and Louis, there were living " in 1549, their two younger brothers, the Count " d'Enghien, and the Cardinal Bourbon, also Mar- " garet, Duchess of Nevers."

their fathers. Scarcely thirty years had elapsed since Claude, the first Duke of Guise, by the erection of a small territory into a principality, had obtained the privileges of a peer of France, a dignity afterwards enhanced by his nuptials with Antoinetta de Bourbon, the daughter of the Duke of Vendome, and cousin-german to Francis the First. It could not, however, be disputed that, lineally and collaterally, the House of Guise was one of the most illustrious in Europe; during many centuries, its representatives had not only preserved the rights of sovereignty in the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, but, by intermarriages, successively acquired pretensions to the kingdoms of Arragon and Naples, and certain districts in Anjou and Provence. Sixteen banners attested the purity of their blood, whilst the history of Europe illustrated the valour, and exalted the glory of their descendants. The grand-father of Claude was René, by

courtesy acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, but who, in reality, possessed little more than a small district in the south of France, besides his paternal territory of Bar and Lorraine. On his death, in 1502, this duchy descended to his eldest son Anthony, so well known for having been the first Prince in Germany to take arms against the innovations of Luther, and to proclaim himself the champion of legitimacy and the Roman See.

After the death of René, a Prince eminent for literature and taste, his relict, Philippa of Gueldres, with whom he had lived thirty years, in exemplary concord, renounced the world, and withdrew to a convent, where she consecrated her remaining days to austere devotion. Of their numerous progeny, only five sons attained maturity. John, the second, who had entered the church, obtained a cardinal's hat, and, till the age of eighty, indulged the visionary hope of exchanging it for the

papal tiara: his two younger brothers were fated to meet death in the field of battle. In 1536, Claude espoused Antoinetta of Bourbon; and their auspicious union was crowned by the birth of six sons and two daughters *; the former were equally divided between the church and the camp; whilst of the Princesses, one became the Abbess of Rheims, and the other the Queen of James the Fourth, of Scotland. Of the House of Guise, it was observed, with truth, that their high fortune was outstript by desert; and that their high rank was nobly sustained by pre-eminence of talents and accomplishments. Another characteristic of this family, and which rendered its influence truly formidable, was the strict immutable union that subsisted among its various members. The pride of ancestry was, in that age, carried to an excess, of which it is now difficult to form

* According to Brantome; but Labourеur mentions four daughters.

any adequate conceptions. In the artificial passion for ennobling an antient stock, the private feelings and the natural sympathies of the individual appear to have been suspended, even his personal ambition was often absorbed in speculations for emblazoning the hereditary escutcheons; for preserving uncontaminated the purity of kindred blood, and consolidating and extending the sway of collateral connections. Hence the coalition of interests, without sympathy or affection, so often exemplified in the Princes of Lorrain; hence the sacrifices of inclination and individuality so cheerfully rendered to arbitrary and fantastic sentiments of duty, derived from the customs, imbued with the spirit of the middle ages, and which, connecting in a fictitious chain of association, the distinction claimed by the living, with the honors yielded to the dead, formed an imaginary point of greatness, which was, at once, pursued with the fervour of fanaticism, and the steadiness of political

calculation. Of the House of Bourbon, the ostensible chiefs were Anthony, Duke of Navarre, and his brother Louis Bourbon, whom history immortalizes as the first Prince of Condé. Between the two factions of Bourbon and Guise stood the Constable Montmorency, the first Baron of France *, the grand master, prime minister and confidant of Henry; a statesman, possessing as much probity and patriotism as could co-exist with unmeasured personal ambition, and who, when he forgot or suspended his anxious schemes for the exaltation of his family, evinced a solid and capacious judgment. Trained in the wars of Louis the Twelfth, he cherished the stately pomp, and, in some degree, even affected the austere decorum, which had been in-

* The proudest title of Montmorency, was that of the first Christian Baron, founded on some legend of martyrdom, attributed to a remote progenitor; the heraldic crest presented a peacock spreading his train, with the motto, "God aid the first Christian." See *Brantome.* — *Laboureur.*

troduced by that monarch's consort, Anne of Brittany; and, of all the King's favorites, took the lead in age, in dignity, and experience.

From childhood accustomed to look up with reverence to this contemporary and comrade of the illustrious Bayard, Henry appears not only to have loved, but to have venerated Montmorency, from whom he had in early life received proofs of attachment and sincerity, which left an indelible impression on his mind; and it is an honourable feature of his character, that after his elevation to the throne, he continued to cherish the veteran, who had been his master in war, not merely as a faithful minister, but a chosen companion and familiar friend: disparity of years formed no barrier to their intimacy, and in reality the sage Montmorency, without countenancing, by his example, the immoralities of his sovereign, sympathized in many of his habits and tastes, was equally characterized by a

fondness for luxury and state, passionately addicted to hawking, eager to possess Arabian horses, peacocks, the gerfalcons of Tunis, and other appendages of regal magnificence. There were also some negative points of union between the king and his ministers, which endeared them to each other. Bred in the school of war, Montmorency had never learnt to appreciate the value of classical attainments, and systematically withheld from his children that mental cultivation which his Cisalpine* prejudices taught him to deprecate as a Frenchman, and to despise as a soldier. Henry, on the contrary, had been fostered by scholars and philosophers, but nature denied the aptitudes to study or reflection; nor, though in imitation of his father he patronized authors, was he capable of relishing books, or engaging in in-

* The patriots of that age deprecated the arts, and stigmatized the vices of Italy; and the declension of morals in France, was attributed to constant and familiar intercourse with the region beyond the Alps.

tellectual pursuits. The society of the unlettered Constable was more congenial to his habits of indolence and conviviality, than the brilliant conversation of the Duke of Guise, who surpassed him as a student, and rivalled him in the skill and grace of horsemanship, in which he most prided himself. Although the Constable and his consort were in their manners rigidly observant of decorum, and of unblemished regularity in domestic conduct, they displayed no unseasonable austerity towards the frailties of royal personages, and scrupled not to attach to their interests the Duchess de Valentinois, that celebrated widow, who, according to her contemporaries, to the age of three-score retained an unbounded influence over the affections of her enamoured lord. It is singular that Henry, both in his mistress and his friend, should have shown a predilection for mature age; but his constancy, in both instances, might

probably arise out of that indolence and diffidence of nature which left him passive to impressions and habits once received and successfully established. The charms of Diana were unquestionably recommended by an antient and illustrious lineage. Sprung from the noble house of St. Vallier, which traced its origin to the royal race of Lusignan, she had married the great Senechal of Normandy, in which province she continued to reside till after his death, when she eagerly presented herself at court, and finding in Henry, an awkward shy youth of seventeen, undertook to form his character and manners on the model of the Preux Chevalier. Though Diana at this period approached her thirty-seventh year, it is not surprising, that with exquisite beauty, heightened by a deportment at once dignified and insinuating, she should have inspired in her docile pupil an ardent and romantic passion, which the superstition of the age ascribed to the arts of sorcery, but which

reason rather refers to the possession of consummate address, and to those perennial charms of conversation and manners, which eclipse the short-lived brilliancy of youth, and arrest the wane of beauty. Such was the fascination she exercised over Henry's mind, that though notoriously inconstant to other women, he was to her devoted with a truth, and loyalty, and devotion, scarcely to be exceeded in the records of any court or parliament of love. In wearing her colours, and proclaiming himself her knight, he but adopted the common forms of platonic gallantry: the matronly age of Diana conspired, with her high birth, illustrious connexions, and unadulterated orthodoxy, to silence slander, or at least to overawe reproach. Aware of the liberties which were taken with her reputation, she proclaimed defiance to malice, by assuming the symbols of the Goddess Diana, adding to her device a motto implying that she scorned

terrestrial love. In another age, such pretensions from a woman, who, notoriously exercised despotic sway over a young libertine monarch, would have been repelled with contempt; but it should be remembered that the manners of this lady had been formed in the school of chivalry, whose spirit was not extinct, and whose platonic creed was still held sacred by those partizans of elder time, who cherished the memory of the Knight, — *sans. peur, sans reproche.* Even the learned Pasquier disdains not to dilate with complacency on the pretty tale of Bayard, and his spotless mistress, the incomparable dame de Fluxas.*

* I have vanquished the conqueror of the world. — At the court of the Duke of Milan, Bayard was invited by this lady, who had been the object of a boyish attachment, to enter the lists at the tournament, and challenge homage for the charms of the Duchess of Milan. Bayard having obtained from the dame de Fluxas the sleeve of her gown, entered the lists, fought, conquered, and by the decree of the judges, of whom one was the chevalier de Fluxas, her husband, was pronounced worthy of the prize. Upon which

At this period, too, the laws of honor both justified and dictated reciprocations of confidence and fidelity, and to have rejected this liberal faith would have been held derogatory to high birth, and to those magnanimous sentiments which were conceived to belong exclusively to the privileged orders. The composed dignity of Diana's manners countenanced the persuasion, which it was held convenient to adopt, by those who, like the Constable, were solicitous to advance their interests without compromising respectability; and, protected by the triple shield of rank, alliances, and decorum, the Duchess equally maintained her ground against calumny and truth, not only living in regal splendor, but presiding with maternal authority over young ladies of illustrious birth, whose education was com-

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Bayard, producing the sleeve, protested that the prize was due only to the dame de Fluxas, by whom he had been stimulated to the enterprize. The chevalier embraced the knight, whose honour, like that of the lady, stood beyond reproach.

mitted to her especial care and superintendance. The Duke de Bouillon and the count, afterwards Duke d'Aumale, had each sought, and obtained the honor of being her son-in-law, and she once rejected with scorn an officious proposal, to procure for her daughters such privileges as were granted to the young Duchess de Castro, the king's natural daughter, exclaiming: "Is it not better to be the legitimate descendant of the Senechal of Normandy, than the base born offspring of a king?"

But whatever difference of opinions might exist with regard to Diana's professions of purity, no suspicion could rest on the orthodox zeal with which, on all occasions, she espoused the cause of the Romish Hierarchy against the innovations of pretended reformers: as little was it to be doubted that her influence was successfully exerted to determine the king to vigorous measures against the progress of Calvinism in France, and that she was assisted in this pious un-

dertaking by the young cardinal, Charles of Lorrain, who, from motives of policy, eagerly defended the cause in which Diana was engaged with unsophisticated bigotry. Thus fortified and supported, the Senechal became secretly the protectress of that party, which was ostensibly conducted by the princes of Guise, and was by them made subservient to political schemes of dominion; but as she was also, by the marriage of her younger daughter, allied to the house of Bourbon, she preserved with them the external relations of amity, and in some degree balanced the two conflicting factions.

The Constable, who was in importance only second to the Senechal, by his rank and seniority, and personal influence with the sovereign, almost engrossed the patronage of the army, and his authority, however potent, was confirmed by the influence of his nephews, the sons of the Sieur de Chatillon, of whom the elder is known as the liberal and enlightened Cardinal Cha-

tillon; the younger as the heroic Andelot, afterwards eminently distinguished among the champions of Calvinism; the other, born to be the *glory* and the *shame* of France, is immortalized by the name of the virtuous Coligny. In his two younger kinsmen, the Constable saw revived, the intrepidity and honourable enthusiasm of the renowned chiefs pre-eminent in his youthful days, Gaston de Foix, and the Chevalier Bayard. Hitherto, he had learnt to know them only as soldiers; but the time was approaching, when he should discover in their more enlightened minds, the magnanimity of the true patriot and the energies of the real hero. Already he had recognized in Coligny a high and somewhat intractable principle of honour, which impelled him to decline an alliance with one of the daughters of the great Senechal; and he carried this romantic spirit still farther, by dissuading his friend, Francis, Duke d'Aumale, from submitting to become the son-in-law of a

woman of equivocal reputation. In the sequel, the Princes of Guise were less scrupulous; and the marriage of a younger brother with one of these nobly portioned daughters of Diana, secured to their house her friendship and protection.

Among all these chiefs and partizans, Catharine de Medicis gradually attached to herself a few followers and personal friends, among whom were, Leon Strozzi, Admiral Annebaud, and the Vidame de Chartres, the latter, though supposed to be influenced by far other motives than those which actuated Coligny, was also spirited enough to decline Diana's alliance.

Amidst these incessant conflicts of party and favoritism, it was impossible but that the interests of the state should be sacrificed to the selfish passions of its rulers; and, by turns, surrendered to ambition, or bartered for mercenary cupidity. Each of these chiefs not only exercised sovereignty himself, but delegated it to his dependents, to whom

he was compelled to entrust its functions. The Constable, and afterwards, the Admiral, (Coligny), possessed, uncontrolled, the government of a distant province, furnished with troops and ammunition, and subjected to their absolute disposal. In a political system so ill organized, the most scrupulous sentiments of loyalty and honour could alone preserve tranquillity.

The magnificence of a court is no index of national prosperity. The imagination is dazzled with the scenes of splendor perpetually changing and renewed, which were exhibited by Henry the Second, amidst his hundred princes, (each supported by his corps of warriors.) His train of nobles, superb as the satraps of Persia, with their domestic satellites and military retainers. The junior nobility all brave, and sparkling with the enthusiasm of youth, or animated by martial rivalry. Wherever the court moved, it presented the same luminous phasis, and was constantly hailed with joy and tri-

umph; plenty and festivity were its harbingers, and, as if aided by some necromantic agency, seven sumptuous tables were duly served to the superior companies of the royal household, and a magnificent ordinary provided for many hundreds of subordinate attendants. But the court reflected not the image of the country, where immense forests, tenanted by fierce animals, invested the chateaux, impeding the course of industry and civilization; feudal restrictions and oppressive imposts checked the labours, and intercepted the rewards of agriculture. The habits of the people were sordid and penurious; and, whilst the spirit of enterprize, exhausted in foreign wars, overlooked the more obvious advantages that might have been derived in promoting inland commerce, and domestic manufacture, we learn from the statists of the day, that, for want of facilities of communication, the produce of one province was inaccessible to the inhabitants of

the other; and, though the orange tree was familiarized to the royal gardens, no other esculent plants were known to the poor peasants than the indigenous fruits of his own half cultivated country. *

* According to Champier, an enlightened physician, who flourished in the sixteenth century, there was a very perceptible difference in the modes and habits of life, which were observed to prevail in the north, the south, and the intermediate provinces. Necessity and expediency having introduced this diversity of tastes and aptitudes in the people. "Thus," says Champier, "the celebrated cheese of Auvergne had become the "staple article of consumption with its poorer in- "habitants, whilst, in Perigord, the Limosin, and the "mountainous districts of the Lyonnois, chesnuts and "radishes were considered the first necessaries of "life, and even with people of easy circumstances "the former furnished a substitute for bread, which "was usually reserved for gala days. In Artois and "Hainault," continues Champier, "beer and milk are "supplied in abundance. Pork and other viands are "cheap and plentiful. The arts of confectionary are "duly cultivated, and the liberality of nature offers "a temptation to drunkenness and gluttony which "few can resist; not only men, but even women, "glory in taking copious draughts; and it is re- "marked, that as this propensity increases towards

In the moral, as in the physical aspect of France, we shall discover the same humiliating contrast of bigotry, opposed to in-

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" the frontier of Flanders, it diminishes as you ap-
" proach the confines of Picardy. A striking dissimu-
" larity is visible in Upper and Lower Brittany. The
" latter, called Britons Brittonnants, have not only a
" foreign language, but ferocious manners, and what
" is still worse, are addicted to plunder; whilst the
" former, generally speaking, possess the true spirit
" of French urbanity. The wine they drink is the
" produce of their own vintage, and they feed chiefly
" on fish, fruits, and pastry. In Gascony, people of
" every class are extravagantly addicted to the use of
" garlick and onions. In the variety and abundance
" of its productions, Provence yields to no part of the
" kingdom; but in habits and manners it falls far
" short of the common standard of civilization: little
" meat is consumed in this country, with the excep-
" tion of the kid, which is universally eaten. They
" consume much fish, of which the Mediterranean
" offers an abundant supply. They prefer to every
" thing preserved capers and olives. Figs and grapes,
" citrons, oranges, and lemons, are served at table.
" As among the Spaniards, all their sauces are pre-
" pared with oil, butter being unknown. The Bur-
" gundians pass for the greatest eaters in France, and
" with them is popular the proverb, 'that good meat
" is better than fine clothes.' In the interior of the

telligence, ignorance to knowledge, superstition to genuine piety; and, whilst in certain classes and individuals the principles of civilization appear to have been completely developed, in the mass of the people, prejudices, and the inflamed passions derived from prejudice, usurped the place of reason, and resisted the moral influences of improvement.

In the following speech, addressed by the parliament, against the registration of the edict for subjecting the laity without appeal to ecclesiastical tribunals, we find such sound arguments, such humane feelings, such genuine christian principles, as would not discredit the legislators and philanthropists of the present day. And it should be recollected, to the honor of the

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" kingdom," continues Champier, " the manners of " the people are milder. They make better cheese, " and in general are more regular in their habits of " life."—Extract from Champier, copied from " La Vie Privée des François," par Le Grand D'Aussy.

catholics of France, that this remonstrance was dictated and approved by men, who never incurred the suspicion of having embraced the doctrines of Luther or Calvin; and whose opinions were alone founded on that sense of justice, order, and humanity, confessedly the best criterion by which to measure the progress of national civilization. Happy had it been for France, to have participated in those civil rights and popular institutions, derived from the Teutonic school, which in England so nobly atoned for comparative barbarism of manners, and inferiority of taste and intelligence, and which gradually produced the elements of its moral dignity, and political prosperity.

Extract from the Speech delivered at Villars Cotterets by Seguier, president of the Parliament in 1555.

" Your parliament, Sire, is composed of a " hundred and sixty magistrates, who have " not been permitted to assume their func-

" tions without having evinced their compe-
" tence to the trust, and produced attestations
" of their principles and conduct; such, in
" short, is this assembly, that to replace
" them would exceed the bounds of your
" Majesty's power. Where then is the
" individual, however gifted or enlightened,
" who shall dare to oppose his individual
" judgment to the opinions of a hundred
" and sixty men, constantly inured to the
" study of our laws, and occupied inces-
" santly in the arduous duty of discrimi-
" nating what is just and legal, from that
" which is illicit and interdicted?" After having repelled the insinuation, that the judges were disguised heretics, Seguier insisted on the absolute prerogative they had acquired by their election. " It is for
" you, Sire, to name the magistrates who
" are to represent you in the sacred func-
" tion of justice; their decrees are given
" in your name, and having once conferred
" on them this mark of confidence, you

"have invested them with a right of which
"you cannot even partially deprive them,
"without prejudice to your own authority;
"for how shall their decrees exact or com-
"mand obedience from inferior judges, or
"the nation at large, if it shall once be sup-
"posed that they are rendered by men whose
"principles are suspected, and who are them-
"selves in contravention with the laws of
"the state? It is then ~~too~~ much clear, that the
"malicious insinuations which have been
"instilled into the royal mind, directly
"tend to subvert order, and bring con-
"tempt on the supreme authority."

With equal intrepidity Seguier repelled the invidious suspicions which had been grounded on their opposition to the establishment of the inquisition. "If those who
"thus speak refer to us as private indivi-
"duals, I dare pronounce they are grossly
"deceived. Not one of our body has any
"motive for personal fear. We all know,
"that this violent remedy may be employed

" with some hope of success in inveterate
" maladies of the state, when all other
" means have been exhausted, and that it
" might even not be without use in ordi-
" nary cases, if it were only to be admi-
" nistered by men, enlightened and benefi-
" cent, superior to passion and inaccessible
" to prejudice.

" History informs us, that such an agency
" was employed by certain Roman em-
" perors, to crush the rising sect of Chris-
" tians; but we also learn, that by wiser
" princes the expedient was rejected with
" horror, and that the Trajans, the Marci
" Aurelii of their age, though zealous for
" the errors of paganism, protested it was
" better to wait till the Christians should be
" convicted of other crimes, than, by foster-
" ing a brood of delators, to spread terror
" and distrust through domestic life; and
" this is precisely the opinion which, as pri-
" vate individuals, we entertain of the in-
" quisition.

" In the character of magistrates, or " rather as those public functionaries whom " your Majesty has appointed to resist op- " pression, and to see that justice is duly " administered, we *deprecate*, or rather we " *abhor* the establishment of a tribunal of " blood, in which information takes place of " legal proofs, which deprives the accused " of all natural means of defence, and " supersedes even the common forms of a " judicial process. In stating this objection, " we advance nothing that we cannot prove " by recent example. Several of those whom " the inquisitions convicted, have appealed " to the parliament, and, in revising former " processes, we have detected absurdity " and folly, such as can only be imputed " to malice or to ignorance; and is it to such " judges, Sire, by withholding the privileges " of appeal, that you would deliver, bound " and fettered, your faithful subjects? But " reflect whether you have really the right " so to transfer their obligations? The same

" ties which bind one party, attach the other.
" If they owe to you the Tailles, the Aides,
" and the Gabelle, on your part you are
" pledged to afford them safety and protec-
" tion; nor can one of the poorest subjects
" forfeit the undisputed privilege to invoke
" your aid, whenever he shall find himself
" aggrieved, since it is the King that is al-
" ways supposed to preside in our supreme
" court of judicature, and its decrees cannot
" be legitimated but by the name of Henry.
" What then is the drift of that counsel, which
" the framers of this edict propose, but to
" make you a stranger to your people, to
" alienate your subjects, to abrogate even
" that sacred contract by virtue of which you
" reign. Hitherto we have recognized but
" one monarch in France, whose authority,
" though somewhat impeded and always
" opposed by a foreign power, has tri-
" umphed over the pretensions and snares
" of superstition. By compelling us to
" register this edict, you will destroy the
" work of five centuries; and not only

" shall you expose the state to new convul-
" sions, but you shall cease to be the sole
" Legislator of your kingdom: the cri-
" minal law shall no longer be administered
" by your judges, nor according to your
" ordonnances; in one word, you will
" have raised against yourself a rival, here-
" after to become your master."

Seguier then proceeded to trace the true causes of heresy, to the abuses which had imperceptibly been admitted to the church, and to the relaxed morals and mundane spirit of the bishops, of whom few resided in their dioceses, or discharged their pastoral duties.

" The religion, Sire, that you would
" maintain in your estates, was not planted
" by fire or sword; on the contrary, these
" were the enemies which it resisted during
" three centuries; it even increased by
" those very impediments; gaining vigour
" from hostility, and, finally, triumphing

" over every effort for its destruction. This " religion, sire, was planted by holy bishops, " by vigilant pastors, who watched their " flocks, replenished it with the divine word, " edified it by their example; and, with " heroic courage, defended it from ravenous " wolves. If by these means it took root, " by these alone can it be regenerated. No " longer, then, delay to dismiss the bishops " and curates to their proper duties. It is " no new task that you enjoin them; the " celebrated constitutions of Justinian long " since enforced on them the obligation, and " if this Emperor, who was neither devout " nor scrupulously orthodox, perceived the " necessity for promulgating salutary ordon- " nances, on what pretext shall the most " Christian King, the eldest son of the " church, exonerate himself from the sacred " duty?

" It is not alone by human laws or im- " perial rescripts that residence is recom- " mended to bishops. The Holy Scriptures

" promulgated the law so often enforced
" by the canons of general councils. It
" is a law founded on the word of God; it
" is a right sustained by divine authority,
" and whoever should maintain the contrary
" would be worse than *Luther*. Begin
" not then, Sire, by giving to the nation an
" edict which shall fill your kingdom with
" mourning, and which shall be registered
" in the blood and recorded by the tears of
" your faithful subjects.

" Far removed from your presence, de-
" voted to rustic labours, or absorbed in
" mechanical occupation, they remain in
" ignorance of what is preparing against
" them. At this awful moment, they do
" not even suspect that you are about to
" withdraw from them their natural safe-
" guard, and to deprive them of your
" paternal protection."

Hitherto, this speech had been received in sullen silence, when Seguier, suddenly turning to the council, among

whom were the Duke of Guise, the Constable Montmorency, Cardinal Lorrain, and the venal Bertrand*, addressed to them pointedly the following energetic remonstrance: —

"You, gentlemen, who now listen with "placid indifference, relying on your own "exemption from the impending evil, cease "to indulge in such chimerical security. "In the days of your prosperity, when you "wisely profit by the golden moment, and "wealth and honour are showered upon "your head, all are eager to court your "smiles, and none presume to impeach "your conduct. But the more sublime is "your elevation, the nearer you approach "the thunder; and little can he know "of history, who is not prepared to expect "an impending revolution of fortune. At "present, indeed, though you should be "destined to experience this mortification,

* Who had superseded the virtuous chancellor Olivier.

" you would, at least, have the consolation
" to retire with a fortune, which might in
" part console you for other privations, and
" which, you would reasonably hope to
" transmit unimpaired to your posterity.
" But from the moment this edict shall be
" registered, your position will have wholly
" changed. Superseded by necessitous
" and rapacious men, you will inevitably
" find such successors eager to avail them-
" selves of a law, by which they may extort
" from the King the confiscation of your
" property; and to achieve this purpose,
" nothing will be necessary but to secure
" the testimony of *one* Inquisitor and *two*
" *witnesses;* and by their agency, though
" you should be pure as saints, they would
" burn you as heretics." *

At these words, the Constable Montmorency was observed to change colour; the other ministers shuddered; the King himself, surprised and confused, forgot to

* Garnier's Histoire de France, tome xiii.

frown, and quietly dismissed the president, with a gracious intimation, that the edict should be revised; and, in reality, such was the effect produced by this well-timed appeal to the passions of the ministers, that during three years the registration was suspended.

In comparing this spirited and judicious remonstrance of the parliament of Paris, with the general tenor of those submissive and adulatory discourses, addressed to their Sovereign by the Commons of England, it is impossible not to be impressed with the mental superiority which the former possessed; and which can only be referred to the auspicious progress of literature and intellectual cultivation, and the influence which public opinion had in France obtained over a certain portion of society.

But it is one of the truths which history is destined to teach, that the real and beneficent blessings of civilization cannot be

communicated where the mass of the people remains enslaved, and habitually subjected to the errors and immoralities concomitant with a state of political degradation. Hence those civil dissensions and the malignant passions engendered with them, the horrors and crimes of which religious hostility was hereafter to be the fruitful and pernicious source— dissensions, for which, had knowledge been more general, reason and experience might easily have provided a remedy—malignant passions, originating in prejudices derived from barbarous times, of which free and enlightened men are scarcely susceptible—horrors and crimes, sanctified by ignorance and superstition, which, but for the absence of all just principles of toleration, could never have existed.—In comparing the progress of the Reformation in Scotland and in France, it is impossible not to remark the different results which the same moral agent is capable of producing in civil society. In Scotland,

where the ignorance and superstition of the middle ages still lingered, the conflict of religious opinions seemed suddenly to dispel the mists that had so long obscured the light of reason, and paralysed the intellectual energies of the people. In France, on the contrary, where much intellectual cultivation already existed, the explosion of the two parties disturbed the superficial polish which skimmed over the surface of society, and reproduced the ferocity and sanguinary violence of a barbarous age. In the former, it rushed like a torrent, about to fertilize and embellish the country which it overflowed; in the latter, it was like a volcanic stream, spreading desolation in its track, and blasting for many an age the region so lately luxuriant in bloom and beauty.

CHAPTER III.

RECEPTION OF MARY IN FRANCE. — SKETCHES OF THE COURT. — MARRIAGE OF ANTHONY BOURBON AND JANE OF NAVARRE. — CHARACTER OF ANNE OF ESTE. — SPLENDID NUPTIALS WITH FRANCIS OF LORRAIN. — CORONATION OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS. — PUBLIC ENTRY OF HENRY INTO PARIS. — PUBLIC ENTRY OF CATHERINE DE MEDICIS. — NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF ROYAL PERSONAGES IN THE PROCESSION. — SKETCHES OF THE THREE COLIGNYS. — THE AUTO-DA-FÉ. — APPLAUDED BY THE PEOPLE.

THE arrival of Mary at Brest was unquestionably an important epoch in her life. Hitherto, by her mother's judicious care, she had lived * with her *Maries* in the most

* According to an authority few will dispute, that of Mr. Chalmers, she arrived at Brest on the 14th of August.

Ribier, Mémoires et Lettres d'Etat; where the order exists for liberating all prisoners, save those suspected of heresy or treason, in honour of the young Queen of Scots.

1549

endearing familiarity; but this sisterly communion was in a manner dissolved, when she found herself, by Henry's orders, invested with the sacred prerogatives of sovereignty. To whatever place she came, the prison gates were open to all criminals, save those convicted of heresy and treason, and for her sake the most miserable outcasts were restored to life, to hope, to liberty. It was impossible, but that this mark of homage must have excited lively emotions in her infant mind, such as no judicious preceptor whose attention was exclusively devoted to the character of the individual would have wished to call forth. But the education of a Prince cannot be conducted on simple principles, and if from this showy and apparently senseless pageantry, associations were created in the breast of the royal pupil, favourable to the exercise of mercy and humanity, it was no frivolous nor unworthy lesson that was given to the future sovereign. The Scottish party

proceeded leisurely to St. Germain en Laye to the palace erected by Francis, where, in the absence of Henry and his Court, (who were making a progress in the Southern provinces), accommodation had been provided for their numerous company. For Mary herself, a domestic residence might easily have been procured in the magnificent palace of her grandfather Claude, Duke of Guise, or in the Abbey of Rheims, in which her maternal aunt presided as abbess; but the King of France having officially announced in circular letters* her engagement with the Dauphin, and pledged himself to educate her with his own daughters, it became a part of honour and propriety that she should never be withdrawn from his immediate protection, and she was accordingly conducted to a convent, dedicated (says Conæus,) to the Virgin, in which were usually placed girls of royal or illustrious

* Ribier, Lettres et Memoires d'Etat, tome premier.

birth, during the elementary stages of education.* That this arrangement was but a temporary expedient, is evident from the census which Henry caused to be taken of the noble Scottish families residing in France, from whom he directed a select number to be chosen for the young Queen's future household.

The liberality of this procedure conciliated applause from both nations, and it was represented as an action worthy of the chivalrous spirit which had impelled the king to volunteer to two oppressed Queens, a desolate widow, and a persecuted orphan, his disinterested friendship and protection; such was the language of the court to which Henry listened, till he perhaps forgot the

* This convent is supposed to have been at St. Germain en Laye; as however Mary resided in it but a few months, this is a matter of small importance. It should also be observed that Lesley, who was Mary's contemporary, thought this retreat not worth notice, whilst Conæus, who lived fifty years after, dwells on it with much interest.

cogent political motives which had really prompted his interference, and complacently ascribed to benevolence the naval and military reinforcements which he had sent into Scotland, notoriously to harass his hereditary English rivals, and effectually to impede a consolidated union between the sister kingdoms. The vanity of his countrymen was flattered by the sublime character ascribed to their monarch, and the name and cause of Mary Stuart became popular with all but the princes of Bourbon, and the opponents of their rival kinsmen of Guise. By the Constable the alliance with Scotland was deprecated on the political principle, that its crown would be an acquisition too dearly purchased. By Catherine de Medicis it was opposed from that keen feeling of egotism which rendered her hostile to whatever was calculated to exalt the princes of Lorrain, whom she both dreaded and hated as the allies of Diana de Poictiers. But whatever might be the

petty feuds of rivalship, all parties united in lavishing demonstrations of affection on the young princess. No duty of hospitality was neglected, and from the southern extremity of France, Henry himself addressed congratulatory letters, which cordially welcomed her to his country. It may be permitted to the biographer of Mary to take a glance of Henry and his court*, composed of personages not only eminent in their day, but whose habits, principles, and opinions, could not but possess an important influence in the formation of her future character; even in the absence of the sovereign, when his palace was comparatively deprived of splendour, her infant senses must have been dazzled and overwhelmed with the magnificence of her entertainment; nor can it be doubted that the description of Henry's celebrated entry into Lyons reached the sanctuary of her convent, whose inmates, being chiefly per-

* Ribier.

sons of quality, were neither abstracted from the world, nor indifferent to its imposing vanities.

To this celebrated city, of which, from its position, the aspect was almost Italian, wealth and commerce had introduced an ostentation of splendour and luxury unknown in any other town of France, whilst traditional associations fostered in the inhabitants a veneration for classical antiquity, inflamed by the desire of emulating their transalpine neighbours.

To receive the new Monarch a spectacle was prepared, such as Rome might have offered to a returning conqueror. In different parts of the city were raised obelisks and temples of Roman architecture. Triumphal arches were erected in the streets, through which marched several companies of foreign merchants, the Genoese, the Florentine, the Milanese, and the Germans, all superbly attired according to their national costume.

Of this splendid scene voluminous details

were published by contemporary writers. Not content with the momentary and popular impression produced by a royal triumph, the Monarchs of that age expected, through the medium of the press, to transmit to posterity the memory of their ephemeral honours. The elaborate descriptions of Henry's Chroniclers may still please the industrious antiquary, in whom curiosity and diligence supersede the refinements of delicacy and taste. Whilst the lively pen of Brantome has recalled from oblivion the admirable exhibition so acceptable to the Monarch, of twelve wrestlers personating Roman gladiators, who combated before the Court without shedding blood, or even lacerating the white satin tunics in which they were habited. The same writer has recorded the incongruous association of pagan Deities, with the Romaunt of chivalry, in the introduction of the Goddess Diana, to compliment Diana de Poictiers. A memorial of the naumachia, or sea-

fight, has been preserved by the same writer, with the unutterable panic it created in the ladies and courtiers, who were stunned with its reiterated explosions; but the only part of the entertainment really worthy of commemoration, was the importation from Italy of a new species of masque, in which singing, music, and dancing, combined with action, formed the rudiments of the Italian opera, afterwards fondly cultivated at Paris.

It was to Cardinal D'Este, the brother of Hercules Duke of Ferrara, that the court owed this agreeable novelty. That prelate, who had lately conducted into France his beautiful niece, afterwards contracted to the celebrated Duke of Guise, was less addicted than other prelates of his age and country to political intrigue; imbued with the taste and learning which characterised his house, in whom were so long recognised the tyrants of the poet, and the patrons of poetry, he conferred a real benefit on the

French court by introducing to it an elegant and innocent recreation.

In these scenes of festivity and triumph, there was at least one aching heart, to which the sound of mirth and joy was dissonant, and whose deep dejection, though little commiserated, could not wholly escape observation; the individual, thus abstracted from present objects, was a princess justly admired for her native and acquired endowments, who, but twenty years before, had seen herself equally the idol of the court and the darling of the people,—the beloved sister of Francis the First, Margaret Queen of Navarre. History has immortalized the courageous affection with which this high-spirited woman, after the fatal battle of Pavia, flew to Madrid to console the captive monarch, and to revive in his despairing soul the precious hopes so necessary to prolong existence; but history dwells not on the secret chagrins and anxieties to which this princess was afterwards devoted

by the policy of her despotic brother, who requited these never-to-be-forgotten services by an outrage on her maternal feelings, in affiancing her only child, Jane, the heiress of Navarre, to the Duke of Cleves, a German Prince, in whose dominions she must have been consigned to eternal banishment from her native country.

These espousals were publicly solemnized by proxy, but, in consideration of the bride's extreme youth, she was permitted to remain some years at Paris under her mother's protection. After a tedious interval of suspense, Margaret had the satisfaction to see circumstances arise to disturb the political union of Francis and the Duke of Cleves; the marriage treaty was cancelled, but scarcely had she exulted in her daughter's liberation, than another son-in-law was imposed on her acceptance, for whom she entertained an insuperable aversion; her distress inspired little sympathy, since the individual now selected was the first prince of

the blood, Anthony Duke of Vendôme, a handsome accomplished prince, who had already won her daughter's affections, and, aided by political considerations, extorted from her husband, Henry D'Albret, a reluctant acquiescence. Against so many suffrages, it was futile to oppose her individual objections. Yet Margaret resisted with a pertinacity which produced no other effect than to provoke her brother's displeasure, and to excite the astonishment of all who knew her. At this crisis, the death of Francis revived in her the nearly-extinguished hopes of preventing the nuptial engagement; but prudence allowed not Henry to affront the illustrious House of Bourbon, by depriving its Chief of an alliance not more desireable to him than advantageous to France. In this instance, too, sentiment concurred with policy, since the lovers, young and impassioned, asked but to obey commands so graciously imposed by their august sovereign. The repugnance

of Margaret was, therefore, to be ascribed only to pride or ambition; of perverseness her nature seemed incapable, nor in her happier days, when her imagination and her affection were in full force, would she have suffered sinister views or political calculations to interfere with her daughter's felicity; but years of suffering and disappointment might have blunted those sympathies once so exquisite. A life of care tinged with melancholy and suspicion the open, generous mind, which had once been ardent in its aspirations for truth, and for the common interests of humanity. Oppressed with visionary terrors, and superstitious forebodings, she deferred till the last moment to affix to the nuptial contract her signature, which was no sooner traced than blotted with her tears; and, hastily withdrawing to her own apartment, she spent in solitude and sorrow the hours which should have been devoted to joy and festivity.

Margaret survived this event but a year, and the well-known description of her sudden death, leads to the suspicion, that her obstinacy originated in some astrological prediction. If the deep regrets, which she testified for her daughter's marriage originated in ambition, they furnish a strong illustration of the fallacy of human anticipations, since the offspring of Jane and Anthony, in the sequel, ascended the throne of France.

The character of Anthony, when fully developed in after-life, was such as might have justified her fatal presentiments: vain, volatile, and assuming, with talents unequal to his pretensions; brave, but vacillating, alternately betrayed by imprudence and prodigality to folly and meanness, he was alternately the libertine lover, the inconstant husband, the inconsistent friend, and presumptuous statesman. A few short years destroyed Jane's dream of connubial happiness, but matured her character;

and this Princess, once so volatile and impetuous, displayed during the trials and privations of her after-life, a devotion to principle, a fortitude and magnanimity which have justly placed her among the first women of any age or country. Living with her father, Henry d'Albret, in Navarre, and with him associated in superintending the education of her son, she instilled into his mind the Calvinistic principles, which she had herself imbibed, and with them certain sentiments of honor and goodness never wholly effaced.

If Henry the Fourth owed to his grandfather those habits of simplicity and hardihood, by which he was prepared to struggle with future difficulties, he was at least indebted for softer and more amiable traits of character to the precepts and example of a meritorious and beloved mother.

The nuptials of Anthony and Jane had been celebrated in the town of Moulins; from thence the court proceeded to St. Ger-

main-en-Laye, of which, during a few days, the young Queen of Scots appears to have formed the only theme of conversation. Henry and Catharine vied with each other in lavishing on their little guest, caresses and applauses, and their example was eagerly imitated by their obsequious courtiers. But this intoxicating incense could not long be administered to a child in her sixth year; she was again dismissed with her Maries and Scottish attendants, to her convent, and to the gentle but penetrating insinuations of her spiritual directors, who sedulously instilled into her tender mind an abhorrence of heretical pravity, and filial veneration for the authority of the Roman Pontiff.

Among the whimsical incongruities of this age, was the austere discipline imposed on children scarcely emerged from the cradle, contrasted with the puerile gaieties and elaborate trifles tolerated in adult and sometimes aged courtiers.

Whilst Mary Stuart and her future consort, the little Dauphin, were already tutored to speak by rote on grave and serious subjects, far beyond their faculties of comprehension, and to assume a gravity of manners which marred the artless graces of childhood, their fathers and grandsires were perpetually engaged in pursuits of that frivolous cast, which should seem to claim the indulgence and call for the vivacity of youthful feeling.

The immense number of persons living together in habits of familiar communion, the *three hundred ladies*, who, according to Brantome, occupied one half of the royal apartments; the assemblage of knights, lords, and princes, who had each to keep his allotted station, all this excess of luxury and magnificence, conspired to create a constantly increasing necessity for excitement and amusement; and eagerly was every pretext seized for presenting a procession, a banquet, a masqued ball, a ballet, or, above

all, a tournament. Grey-headed politicians beheld not with indifference the preparations for these costly entertainments; a declaration of war was anticipated with joy, as the precursor of a spectacle, and a treaty of peace welcomed with gratitude as the signal for the enterprise of pleasure.

The year 1549 was, above all others, felicitous in furnishing occasions for such displays of gaiety and splendor; of these the first was the marriage of Francis, Duke d'Aumale, with Anne of Este, the eldest daughter of Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, and Renée of France, who, in her mother's name and right, was enthusiastically welcomed by the Parisian people. The mother of this Princess had tasted deeply of the mortifications which in her unhappy sex especially attach to a royal station. Bred in the court of Francis, she had, in common with his sister Margaret, imbibed a predilection for the new opinions, which, in the palace of her bigotted consort, the Duke of Ferrara, were

stigmatized as absurd, and persecuted as criminal. With a person destitute of beauty, and even verging on deformity, Renée possessed a vigorous and cultivated understanding, benevolent dispositions, and magnanimous sentiments. Nature had unkindly denied her those personal attractions, with which she might have hoped to soften, if she could not elevate the character of her sordid and splenetic lord, who, to mark his disapprobation of her daring opinions, loaded her with opprobrium and asperity, deprived her of the society of her children, and did all that malice could suggest to embitter her existence. But the spirit of Renée was not to be subdued, she steadily refused to disclaim the convictions of her deliberate judgment*, and neither the admonitions of

* In Rabelais's letters, written during his travels in Italy, some allusion is made to the domestic dissensions subsisting between the duke and duchess Ferrara, who, though deprived of her French attendants, retained an ardent attachment to her native country. She secretly protected Marot and other apostates

her confessor, the injunctions of the Pope, nor even the menaces of her churlish lord, prevailed over her firmness and integrity. Under the gloomy impressions produced by domestic discord, Anne, the eldest daughter of Reneé, had received an education worthy of her native talents, and of the princely line to which Tasso and Ariosto have communicated a portion of their own im-

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from the church, and by this temerity provoked fresh insults from her imperious consort and his spiritual counsellors. According to Brantome, she repined at the salique law, by which herself and her children had been excluded from even presumptive claims to the crown of France. Her complaints were but too well justified by the harsh usage she experienced, with the consent, if not the connivance, of her brother-in-law Francis, and long after her daughter's marriage, at the instigation of Henry II., or rather of his ecclesiastical ministers. In Laboureur's Additions to Castelnan is a curious letter, addressed by this considerate kinsman to the duke of Ferrara, admonishing him to banish from the palace, to degrade from her rank, to imprison, to inflict every mortification on his aunt Renée, if she persisted in her contumacy. — See an extract from Henry's Letter at the end of this volume.

mortality. The principal superintendant of her studies was the Countess Soubise, the most accomplished female scholar of the day, and who, even in a learned age, assumed and kept her place with men distinguished by their erudition and classical attainments.

In the court of Ferrara, at that period the most intellectual if not the most elegant in Europe, letters and the arts flourished. Music was no less generally cultivated than poetry; which, by being invested with scenic decorations, had lately acquired new and popular attractions. It was the theatre of Ferrara that first presented the novel spectacle of a regular tragedy or legitimate opera: and its princes were not more distinguished by an enthusiasm for the drama, than for their love of learning and strict observance of regularity and decorum. But the quality for which the reigning sovereign most prided himself, was the unmitigated fervour of his zeal for or-

thodoxy, which suffered not a heretic to exist within his dominions. Neither his vigilance nor his rigour had, however, stifled in his eldest daughter a secret prepossession for her mother's religious sentiments. The uprightness and generosity of her nature revolted from the intolerant system pursued by her father and his ministers; and this antipathy was confirmed by a young female companion, the lady Olympia Fulvia Morata; who, according to the custom of the age, had been associated as a sister in all her juvenile studies and pastimes; and who, possessing a mind of more than ordinary strength, insensibly acquired an ascendant over the opinions and feelings of her royal friend, ever faithfully retained in after-life.

The extreme youth of Anne had probably prevented the suspicion of her Lutheran predilections from alarming the court of France; nor does she, on her part, appear to have dreaded the connexion she was about to form with the most catholic family

in Europe. Modesty and discretion had taught her to shun, rather than seek occasions of proclaiming her dissent from the established system of orthodoxy; but no lessons of policy, no assumption of authority, ever extorted from her correct and amiable mind an approbation of persecution, or silenced her internal conviction of the rights and duties of humanity. Fortunately, Anne possessed in her beauty a persuasive advocate for her liberal principles. Unlike Renée, her mother, she was in stature tall and majestic, — her features resembled those of the too celebrated Lucretia Borgia, from whom, on the father's side, she derived her descent. But the prevailing expression of her countenance was modesty; and according to the poets who have pourtrayed and eulogized her personal charms, she might have been compared, in manners and in sentiment, with the beautiful and elegant Leonora D'Este, whose attractions proved so fatal to the im-

passioned Tasso. In her conduct, she was not only unblemished, but exemplary; and perhaps few women, even of those born in a private station, displayed more amiably all that essentially belongs to the duties of female life than Anne d'Este. Although her marriage with Francis of Lorrain was decreed by the fiat of politicians, there is no reason to suppose it thwarted her inclinations. She was no stranger to his person, which was handsome and majestic; but the fame of his valour and accomplishments might alone have been sufficient to captivate a romantic imagination. Nor could she be insensible to the liberality and magnificence which were the prominent features in his individual character, and generally speaking belonged to his family.

After her arrival in France, no eagerness appeared in either party to terminate the marriage, and Anne had the mortification to discover, that the Duke's heart was devoted to a lady of the court, whom,

in the language of the day, he *served*, and for whom his sentiments were intimated by wearing her livery, which, according to Brantome, was of a bright carnation colour. The marriage of Anne and Francis was deferred till January, 1549, when it was celebrated with a pomp and splendour never before witnessed in France but at the nuptials of the Sovereign or his children. Of all the ladies of her age, Anne appears to have been the least ambitious of public homage; but it was otherwise with her husband; and in deference to the wishes of her own family, she prepared for an exhibition, which, to real feminine timidity and delicacy, must have been sufficiently formidable. Attired in bridal robes, and rather encumbered than embellished with a profusion of jewels, she rode on her white palfrey, between the old Cardinal Hippolyto d'Este, and the young Cardinal de Bourbon, and was by them conducted to the gates of the Bastille, where the Provost Claude Guyot, standing before

the portal, addressed the Princess in a formal speech, in which he pompously announced, "that such marks of respect were rarely offered but to the Kings and Queens, and the sons and daughters of France; that in right of her mother Renée, he considered her as entitled to rank with the daughters of France; and he the more willingly performed the service of loyalty on the present occasion, as she was about to enter that illustrious family, to which the nation owed many trophies of conquest and glory." He then launched into an eulogy on the house of Guise, and ended with beseeching the Princess to use her influence to procure the continuance of their favour to France, and, above all, to secure their good will to the city of Paris.

To this elaborate address the Princess replied in few words, with appropriate dignity and politeness, whilst the old Duke Claude, rushing into the Provost's arms, embraced him with transports of joy, officiously promising for all his posterity, that they should

never cease to be faithful and grateful to the good people of Paris. The Provost again broke forth in a strain of enthusiasm, and was again and again embraced by the delighted Duke, till their mutual compliments were suspended by a loud discharge of artillery; and Anne, her ladies, and her train, passed through the gate in triumph. *

In referring to this scene, the reader of Froisard and Hall is reminded of those elder times which have furnished so many scenes to our early dramatists; whilst from this trait of mingled vanity and enthusiasm, he will discover that the manners of Claude were purely French, and that of his German descent nothing remained but the heraldic blazon, and the passion for illustrious ancestry.

The coronation of Catherine at St. Denis, and the separate entry of Henry, and of his queen into Paris, were deferred till the ensuing June.† These galas, independent of

* Felibiens Histoire de Paris. † Mezerai, tome 2.

the ordinary sources of gratification supplied by national spectacles, were endeared to the French people by the temporary relief they afforded from the operations of those sumptuary laws, which, at all other seasons, imposed unwelcome restrictions on dress and luxury. According to contemporary writers, all ranks were infected with the mania of aspiring to pre-eminence. The great lords vied with Princes of the blood. The gentleman affected to be the lord, and to wear cloth of gold or silver or velvet stuff; such habits were decorated with clasps or plates of gold, gold collars encircled the neck, and equally superb chains were suspended from the shoulders. The women, as might be expected, were no less ambitious of state and splendour. The burgher's wife aped the demoiselle, the demoiselles usurped the style of titled dames, who, in this respect, challenged equality with princesses of the blood. To promote the consumption of home-made manufactures, the King, by

an edict of parliament, limited to princes the use of gold and silver stuffs, interdicting them even to great lords, with one exception only, that they should be exhibited at tournaments, and on the day of battle. By a subsequent edict they were wholly " suppressed, princes and princesses only " appearing in a full suit of velvet or of " crimson. It was permitted to all gen- " tlemen and gentlewomen to wear some " portion of silk, provided it were not " crimson, and provided that the ground- " work of the fabric should be wool.

By the same edict, " the ecclesiastics, " with the exception of prelates and dig- " nified magistrates, and such as by birth " belonged to the nobility, were reduced " to woollen. The wives of magistrates " might wear silk robes of black or brown " colour. The wives of burghers were " forbidden to dress as demoiselles. Both " sexes were equally impatient of these " restrictions; in some instances, female " enthusiasm braved the penalty; and if

" the magistrates interfered, a popular tu-
" mult ensued. Women of rank obtained
" letters patent to secure them from pro-
" secution; others, less fortunate, presented
" petitions and appeals to parliament. The
" magistrates grew tired of the litigation;
" and, finally, the matter was left to take its
" own course."*

In issuing these edicts, the monarchs of France seem to have forgotten, that prescriptive rules of economy ought to be enforced by example; the expences of the royal establishment were enormous; functions and places were multiplied in endless gradation; and every individual from the Grand-master of the Household, who presided over the arrangements by day, to the Roi des Ribauts, whose duty it was to see that all in the palace were quiet at night, was, to himself and others, an object of bustling importance.

The sacré of Henry had already been solemnized, according to established usage

* Garnier, Histoire de France, tome xiii.

in the city of Rheims. It remained for Catherine to be crowned in the antient church of St. Denis; and with this ceremony, performed on the 10th of June, (1549), commenced a series of public spectacles, each of which might have satisfied a people less greedy of novelty, or less passionately addicted to amusement.

To stated forms and solemnities, must always be attached a certain precision and limitation inimical to the display of elegance and taste; and in this inaugural procession, there was little worthy of notice. The religious part of the ceremony was characterized by a puerile though pompous minuteness, which might have excited risibility in any but practised courtiers. Happy were the chosen few permitted to assist on this august occasion; and considerable ingenuity was exercised in multiplying and distributing those coveted honours, so universally the object of ambitious emulation. At the commencement of mass, which was

said by Cardinal Bourbon, two ladies were seen to descend from their balcony, each bearing in her hand a small volume, and to approach the spot where the Queen sat in regal state, the assembled crowd making way for them with obsequious deference.

The younger lady advanced the first, and with profound respect, presented to Catherine, her book of *Hours*. This was Diana, the King's legitimated daughter, then scarcely thirteen. In like manner, the elder dame, who was no other than the pure and stately consort of Montmorency, presented the book of *Oraisons*. These duties fulfilled, each returned to her former station, followed by many a wishful glance of envy or admiration. After mass, the communion service followed; when three other ladies conveyed the offerings to those illustrious females, whose privilege it was to attend the Queen to the altar. The gold bread was given to the Duchess of Guise, the silver to the Duchess of Nevers, the wine to Anne of Este, the wax to Diana de

Poictiers, whose assistance, it may be presumed, in some degree, allayed the exultation of the new Queen. The remainder of the day was spent as etiquette religiously directed, in a royal supper, at which the princes and nobility were admitted according to precedency; and had, ever after, free access to the Queen's presence.

Between Catherine's coronation, and Henry's public entry, elapsed six days; an interval, sufficient to allow of a complete change in the aspect of the city and its inhabitants.*.

The procession commenced at the Abbey of St. Lazarus; and, as at Lyons, the spectacle was embellished with classical objects, which announced the progress of taste and

* These details, of which the heads are furnished by a volume of tracts in the valuable collection of books in the British Museum, were originally published in 1549, in two brochures, with the following elaborate advertisement. On les vend à Paris, chez Jaques Roffet, dit le Faulcheur, en la Rue Gervais; Lecturés, à l'Ensigne du Soufflet, près Sainte Croix, en la cité.

civilization. Under the gothic arch of St. Denis, was erected a Roman altar dedicated to strength, of which, two colossal figures in rustic costume formed the cariatides, bearing in their hands a scroll, with Henry's bombastic motto, of *donec impleat orbem.* In every part of the city, temples and obelisks were erected in imitation of Italian elegance; and the whole scene was far different from that in which the homely English pageantry of conduits, angels, and virgins, could have been tolerated. The splendour of the procession was sensibly diminished by the absence of female attractions; but it had a martial aspect, perfectly in unison with the habits of a warlike people.

All the city companies, craftsmen, mechanics, artizans, tradesmen, carried arms. The long-pike and the halbert were the popular weapons; the lance and sword belonged to the privileged orders. The company of printers, to the number of three hundred, dressed in black, marched three

and three; and before them, was borne their appropriate ensign, the pen. In the rear of the city militia, rode the Provost, Claude Guyot, no longer, as on the nuptial day of Anne d'Este, essaying his powers of grandiloquence, but soberly mounted on a grey mule, and wearing armour with an aspect truly militant. Counsellors, judges, abbots, bishops, nobles, and princes, all marched in solemn state, amidst the rapturous acclamations of myriads of spectators. The windows and balconies were crowded with ladies, all dressed according to the privilege of the day in the gayest colours; and who eagerly manifested their loyalty, by scattering flowers, and pouring forth enthusiastic benedictions. These expressions of benevolence appear to have flowed spontaneously, without the excitement of wine; which, in England and Scotland, was, on similar occasions, freely administered to the populace.

For the entry of Catherine, a far more

brilliant scene was prepared, with scarcely any change in the dramatis personæ, and few transpositions in the arrangements; but it may be observed, as an indication of Gallic gallantry, that the men were no longer confined to the military costume, and that all, with the exception of the friars, who still retained their priestly vestments, appeared in gala dresses, assuming the air and manners of cavaliers, rather than judges and soldiers. As before, the procession commenced at the gate of St. Lazarus. The crafts and companies, were preceded by bands of music, which delighted the ear with perpetual changes of harmony. After them, came the Provost Claude Guyot, no longer encumbered with armour, but attired in cloth of gold. In like manner the city militia had exchanged their coat of mail for white satin. Even the chancellor was habited like a gallant courtier; whilst counsellors and judges glided through the streets in dresses appro-

priate to the parterre of a ball-room. At length, appeared the royal litter, in which sat Catherine, in the modest costume of Anne of Brittany, a long veil flowing over her shoulders, and her gorgeous robe heavily encumbered with ermine; opposite to her sat the Princess Margaret*, the sister of Henry, a woman devoted to literature and beneficence; religious but not bigoted, charitable without ostentation, and who, without participating in the arrogance of her grandmother†, was the faithful representative of her talents and her virtues. To the meridian of life, this Princess continued in her brother's court; where, by the undeviating propriety of her conduct, she contributed to the preservation of that order and decorum, afterwards so grossly violated in succeeding reigns. With a soul superior to artifice, and that descended not to the

* For a further account of this Princess, see the extract from Laboureur in the succeeding chapter.

† Anne of Brittany.

baseness of political intrigues, she acquired, even with Henry's ministers, the influence which strong intellect, combined with high rank, must always command in polished society; and as it was her discriminating liberality that first drew Michel L'Hopital from obscurity, it was to her recommendation that France originally owed one of her best statesmen and wisest legislators.

Never perhaps were two individuals more strikingly contrasted than the sister and the wife of Henry the Second. Young, handsome, and debonair, the Queen was endeared to the people by her grace and affability, and the four sons whom she had given to the house of Valois. Hitherto her ambition had been humble, though insidious, nor had her intriguing spirit yet found scope for its mischievous operations; in dissimulation she was already an adept, having lived fifteen years in habitual restraint, caressing those by whom she felt herself supplanted, and masking in smiles and blandishments

the envy or resentment which rankled in her haughty bosom; but these painful emotions were softened by a certain constitutional gaiety and good humour, which enabled her at all times to sustain her part with amenity and cheerfulness. Nor was Catherine at this period, it may be presumed, without some feminine and amiable qualities; affable and beneficent, she often mediated between hostile parties, and though in reality destitute of all principles of rectitude, she was rather selfishly callous than malignant or cruel, and had yet to learn, by habitual systematic depravation, to prepare herself for those acts of falsehood and perfidy which have eternally disgraced her memory.

After the litter followed eleven ladies, each mounted on a white palfrey, having behind a long pendant mantle borne by two liveried pages; beside each lady rode a royal cavalier, and as some of these personages are well known in history, and as they

composed the society in which were formed the habits and manners of Mary Stuart, it may not be improper to announce their names and conditions, as an illustration rather than a digression from the principal subject of the work.

Of this splendid train, first came the Countess de St. Pol and Louis Bourbon, Prince of Condé; of the Countess nothing is known, but that she was the heiress of the house of Touteville, and the relict of M. de St. Pol, the brother of the elder Duke de Vendôme, and that consequently she must have been the Aunt of her conductor; the Prince of Condé was at this time one of the youngest and gayest frequenters of the court; sensible that his revenue was inadequate to his illustrious station, he sought to improve it by an advantageous alliance, and although not destined like his brother to espouse the heiress of a kingdom, he afterwards secured to himself the possession of a noble fortune, and the affections of an exemplary wife, by

marrying Eleonor de la Roye, the niece of the virtuous Coligny, and the kinswoman of the Constable Montmorency. The personal advantages of Louis were not remarkable*, and hitherto he had aspired only to the praise of wit and gallantry; at court he was called familiarly the little merry man, who danced, joked, and laughed with the same spirit, but who under the exterior of an exuberant and almost frivolous gaiety, concealed an enterprising and ambitious soul, the sagacity of the statesman, and the unconquerable energy which constitutes the essence of a military commander.

Next came Madame Montpensier the elder and the Duke her son: this lady, the only surviving sister of the celebrated Constable Bourbon, traced her descent to the antient

* Louisa Montmorency, the Constable's sister, was first married to the Sieur de Mailly, by whom she had Leonor, who married the Sieur de la Roye, mother of Eleonor, Princess of Condè: after the death of the Sieur de Mailly, Louisa married the Sieur de Chatillon, and by him had three sons and one daughter; the Princess of Condè was therefore great niece to the Constable.

stock of St. Louis; she had been married to her cousin the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, and after his death became Duchess of Montpensier; she was the oldest lady of the court, in which she had lived with unsullied reputation, and even to the venerable age of ninety continued to receive the homage due to her rank and virtues. The Duke, her son, was through life engaged in the arduous task of substantiating his hereditary claims to the property of his disloyal uncle. At the commencement of his career he had been the poorest, at its close he was the richest Prince in France: during the life of Francis he made few advances towards preferment. Under his successor, by a wealthy marriage, he acquired more importance, but it was not till the Regency of Catherine, that he succeeded in the accomplishment of his wishes and rose to power and prosperity amidst the calamities of his country.*

* During the civil wars, he became notorious for rapacity and cruelty.

The third couple was composed of Madame Montpensier the younger, the Duke's wife, and her brother-in-law the Prince of Roche-sur-yon. This lady was Jaquetta Longvic, the heiress of the house of Vitry, sprung from the Paladins of Burgundy. In her youth she was remarkable only for beauty, and for having attracted the attention of the Duke of Orleans *, elder brother

* John Count de Vendome, left two sons, Francis last Count of Vendome, and Louis father of Louis first Duke of Montpensier, whose branch ended in 1627, by the death of Mary Duchess of Orleans, and of Charles Prince de la Roche-sur-yon who espoused Phillippa de Montspedon, sprung from Wast de Montspedon a Fleming, formerly valet de chambre to John, Duke of Berry, the son of King John. From this unequal alliance was born Henry, Marquis de Beaupre, who died in 1560. Charlotte, daughter of the Duke de Montpensier, after having been thirteen years Abbess of Rheims, quitted her convent, escaped to the Count Palatine, and married William Prince of Orange, whose wife was living, whence it was pretended that she was but his concubine. In her vindication, she alleged that her religious vows had been taken by compulsion, and that the Prince's former wife, Anne of Saxony, had been legally

of Henry the Second, who wore her colours, and professed to be her servant. In riper age she won by her discreet conduct the confidence of Catherine de Medicis, over whose mind she acquired an influence that was afterwards generously exerted in the cause of humanity and toleration; but it appears to have been the chief honour of her life, that she possessed the friendship of Leonora de la Roye, the

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divorced, after having been convicted of adultery; this Charlotte left six daughters, Louisa Juliana of Nassau, who espoused the Elector Palatine, and was the mother of Frederic, afterwards King of Bohemia, married to the daughter of James the First of England; Elizabeth, who married Henry de la Tour, Vicomte of Turenne, Duke de Bouillon, and was the mother of the Duke de Bouillon, and of the great Turenne. The third daughter, Catharine, became the wife of Philip Louis, Count of Hanau, and was the mother of Amelia Elizabeth, the Landgravine, so celebrated by the great Gustavus Adolphus. The fourth daughter, Charlotte Brabantine, married Claude, Duke de la Tremouille, mother of Henry, Duke de Tremouille, and of Frederic, the Count de Laval; fifth, Charlotte Andrina, who died Abbess of Saint Croix, Poictiers; and Emilia, wife of the Palatine of Ladsberg.—*Memoirs of Amelot Houssaye.*

mother of the Princess of Condè, a lady eminently distinguished for all the virtues and graces peculiar to her sex, and whom fortitude, prudence, and magnanimity, exalted to an equality with the first heroes of the age: to this noble-minded woman, originally the champion, and ultimately the victim of Calvinism, Charlotte of Montpensier evinced a truth and sincerity of attachment under circumstances the most trying to human affections, that proves fidelity might exist even in the profligate court of Catherine de Medicis; and that upright and honourable characters possess attractions, even for minds of the most depraved and complicated turpitude. The Prince of Roche-sur-yon appears to have owed alone to the adventitious circumstance of birth, his title to distinction; but though sufficiently tenacious of his privileges as Prince of the blood, he condescended to enrich himself by forming a sordid alliance, and, not without exciting horror in the ge-

nealogical disciplinarian, espoused a woman, noble indeed, but lineally descended from the valet de chambre of the Duke of Berry, the son of the brave but unfortunate King John.

The consort of this prudential personage, the Princess of Roche-sur-yon, was the fourth lady, accompanied by the old Duke of Guise, Claude of Lorrain. Previous to her illustrious marriage, she had been the widow of Maréchal Motijan; and by her beauty and her dower attracted many suitors, among others the celebrated Timoleon Cossé, Maréchal Brissac, the handsomest man of the court; who engrossed her preference till she happened to see him obsequiously present a glass of water to his rival, who, as Prince of the blood, might command such personal services.

Disgusted with this unequivocal evidence of inferiority, the haughty dame married the Prince, and repaired to the court of Francis the First, eager to assert her royal

rights and privileges; but her arrogance was soon checked by the monarch, who, having seen her treat with impertinence a gentleman of birth, by commanding him to call her page from the antichamber, took her apart, and gently reminded her that courtesy was not incompatible with real dignity, of which pride was but the wretched substitute.* In the procession of Catherine, this Princess was permitted to take place of the most illustrious ladies in France; her precedency on this occasion being determined by that which her conductor, the Duke of Guise, had held at the coronation of his

* By degrees this imperious lady discarded the airs she had acquired in the province, but her flippancy appears to have been incorrigible. Being one day reproached by the Prince of Condé for having accepted the office of lady of the bed-chamber to Catharine, she retorted on him by replying, that he who was a Prince of the blood had equally compromised his dignity in accepting a colonel's commission under his Sovereign. In the foregoing traits of arrogance, we detect the vestiges of Gothic barbarism, obviously resulting from the artificial distinctions of rank which encumbered, and in some instances deformed, even polished society.

sovereign, and it was probably to check the arrogance of elder Princes of the blood, that royal dames of the first pretensions paired with junior Princes.

The fifth lady was Antoinetta of Bourbon, the consort of the Duke of Guise, who walked with her grandson, the young Duke of Longueville; after her came the Duchess of Nevers, Margaret of Bourbon, sister to Anthony and the Prince of Condé. United to a man of sense, the mother of a numerous and beautiful progeny, possessing various talents and accomplishments, this lady was probably the happiest of the court, certainly one of the most prudent and irreproachable. The Prince who conducted her, the Duke of Nemours, was nearly connected with the house of Valois by Louisa, the mother of Francis the First; though less handsome than Anthony, less vivacious than Louis Bourbon, and far inferior in personal and mental endowment to Francis of Guise, he ranked with the

most gallant cavaliers of the age; and, above all his contemporaries, appears to have been formidable to husbands and fathers. Careless of money, and despising the science of political calculation, he left to the Montpensiers the intrigues of ambition, to the Princes of Bourbon and Lorrain the contention for power, reserving to himself the triumphs of libertinism and seduction. After these came Anne of Este, and the Duke of Nevers, a brave soldier and excellent commander, of principles too pure to attach himself to any party, much less to acquire authority and pre-eminence. With Madame de Valentinois was associated Francis, Duke d'Aumale, to whose brother Claude, the younger daughter of this lady had been recently united. Though considerably past the prime of womanhood, her personal charms still challenged homage; nor was she less proud of her ancestry than her beauty. Sprung from the antient and royal line of Lusignan, she was well pleased to hear her-

self compared with the famous Melusina, of whom many fabulous legends existed, and in emulation of that chivalrous dame erected at Anet a castle, which she vainly hoped should rival in magnificence the saracenic towers of Lusignan. When Diana rode by Francis of Lorrain, they appeared to mutual advantage; his martial form and majestic aspect confessed the lofty consciousness of superiority. Brave, and delighting to discover heroism, and to stimulate to bold and honourable enterprize, he sought not wealth, but fame; and at this period of his existence, held even power less dear and acceptable than glory. Hitherto he had been united in strict intimacy with the Chatillons, and if, since his brother's marriage with Mademoiselle de Breze, he recoiled from the sternness of Admiral Coligny's principles, he still honoured the man, and esteemed the soldier; but this sentiment proved, in the sequel, a feeble bulwark against the Guisian system

of policy, and its hereditary schemes of aggrandizement.

The ninth lady was the king's natural daughter, Diana*, who, by a discreditable precedent, had been legitimated and admitted to almost all the privileges of a daughter of France. The tenth was the exemplary wife of the Constable Montmorency, distantly related to the Duke of Nemours, by her father, the grand master of Louis the Twelfth, commonly called the bastard of Savoy. Without aspiring to be an author, a scholar, or even a patroness of letters, this lady possessed abilities of no common order, which were exemplified in

* The mother of this Princess had no establishment at court, and lived in obscurity. Her acquaintance with the King originated in a romantic adventure. She was a native of Piedmont, and being in a house which had been set on fire, must have perished but for the intrepidity of an officer, who bore her in his arms, uninjured, through the flames. The King, who was upon the spot, struck with her beauty, soon made her his mistress, and always treated her daughter with paternal fondness.

habits of activity and economy, and the prudence and propriety with which she regulated her princely household. Although more than twenty years younger than the Constable, her immense dower had laid the basis of his political greatness, whilst, by her gentleness and discretion, she insensibly obtained his confidence, and finally acquired an ascendancy over the mind of that imperious lord, to whom she had been accustomed to yield the most obsequious deference. But even her powers of persuasion failed to eradicate the prejudice which he entertained against literary cultivation, and to all her prayers and entreaties that one of their five sons should be bred to the church, he remained inflexible. With her daughters she was more successful; the four elder intermarried with the noblest families in France, and, like their mother, preserved through life an unblemished reputation; but the three younger sisters embraced a religious vocation, and two of

them satisfied her devotional and ambitious aspirations, by filling in succession the high office of Abbess of Rheims.

It was remarked of Magdalen of Savoy, that she assimilated with the Constable chiefly in her fondness for antient customs, which, in dress, she carried to an excess of prudish austerity, never deviating from the starched ruff and stiff sleeves, which had been cherished in the days of Anne of Brittany, as appropriate to the consorts of the great dignitaries of state, and the daughters of a noble and ancient house. In her moral character she was decidedly his superior; her devotion was fervent and sincere. By her religious principles, though tainted with bigotry, she was impelled to acts of real charity and beneficence, and for these nobler gratifications often renounced the pomp to which the Constable was passionately addicted. Whenever his absence allowed her to make her own election, she quitted the court, dismissed the appendages of state,

and occupied herself exclusively with the care of erecting some religious edifice, or distributing among the wretched class of mendicants her benevolent and judicious donations.*

Each of the eleven ladies was mounted on a milk-white palfrey, behind which walked two pages, bearing her voluminous train; they all wore a profusion of diamonds and gold, with the exception, however, of the widows, who, according to etiquette, were debarred from wearing jewels or colours. With no other variety of hue than black and white, did even Diana venture to embellish her waning charms, but to console her for the privation, black and white became the livery of her royal admirer. To the first equestrian procession succeeded a second, consisting of younger ladies, among whom the most distinguished were the two

* Magdalen of Savoy is extolled by every contemporary writer for her piety and charity. — See *Laboureur.*

daughters of the Duchess de Valentinois, the wife of Charles Count d'Aumale, and the Princess of Sedan; and it is worthy of remark, that during the progress of religious dissensions, these two sisters, hitherto so tenderly attached, embraced opposite opinions; the Princess of Sedan seceding, with her husband, to Calvinism, whilst Frances de Breze adhered zealously to the Pope, as became all who were united with the House of Lorrain. The Princess of Sedan persisted in her Calvinistic principles, regardless of her mother's reiterated declaration, that she would disinherit the child who renounced the faith of her fathers, a menace which she afterwards enforced by bequeathing all her property to the Duke d'Aumale, who nobly refused to avail himself of the inequitable distinction, and divided the property with his sister-in-law. But it was long before the two religious parties manifested decided hostility; and at this moment the two sisters lived in

affectionate cordiality with their parent, nor did any ladies of the court more justly challenge the respect due to an unblemished reputation. Among the delicate refinements of gallantry observed in the procession, it appears that when the party alighted at the church, the train-bearers were dismissed, and their office transferred to young noblemen; the mantle of Catharine was borne by ladies; that of Diana by the young Henry Damville, the second son of Montmorency; a mark of homage which some of the old nobility would have disdained to offer to the object even of a monarch's illicit love; in this number were the Constable's three nephews, the Colignys, of whom, the elder, Odet, though a churchman, cultivated literature for its own sake, regardless of the crozier, and unambitious of the tiara; still less did the Admiral Gaspard Coligny, and the Sieur d' Andelot, condescend to propitiate the mistress of their sovereign. There was in these men

a real dignity not unworthy of the old Roman character; and whilst Andelot aspired to military glory and a romantic emulation of the knight, *sans peur, sans reproche*, it was the object of his more reflective and enlightened brother to mitigate the evils that oppressed his country, and to combine with the spirit of a patriot the sound and comprehensive views of a statesman and reformer. Although he had not examined the doctrines of Calvin, and, without inquiry and conviction, was too conscientious to embrace them, he already felt disposed, by the manliness and independence of his character, to reject the papal despotism, so tenaciously upheld in Europe; both his understanding and his feelings revolted from the horror of persecution, and the cruelties inflicted in the name and authority of religion. With such sentiments, what must have been his disgust, a few days after Catherine's public entry, to witness the human sacrifice with which Henry consecrated his inaugural festi-

vities? When, after a solemn procession, at which the whole court assisted, and in which the Relics were carried through the streets with every sign of reverence and devotion, the gates of the Conciergerie were unclosed, and the condemned heretics so long immured within its gloomy cells, formed into different bands, conducted to the platform of Notre Dame, the Place de Greve, and la Rue St. Antoine. Towards the close of the evening the city was suddenly illuminated with the funeral fires of the devoted victims, and no sooner was the signal given, than they were forced into the flames. The King, who had that day feasted at the episcopal palace, voluntarily offered to witness the punishment inflicted on those obstinate zealots, and, for that purpose, returned through the streets at the moment when the spectacle was about to commence, and the fatal light began to illumine the horizon. Fortified by the admonitions of his confessor, and the persuasion that he was

inviting the love and confidence of his subjects, Henry, though naturally kind-hearted and humane, contemplated this frightful scene with self-approving complacency, till suddenly, among the shrieking victims, he distinguished the accents of one of his subaltern officers, to whom he had been formerly much attached, imploring mercy, and supplicating his protection; for the moment, humanity triumphed over bigotry, and it was only by hastening from the spot, that the monarch stifled the tender impulse of nature: but the impression was quickly effaced; his priests approved the action they had prompted, and the people, at least the unthinking populace, inflamed by the eloquence of the pulpit, and excited by their own passions, applauded the zeal, and showered benedictions on the obduracy of their orthodox sovereign. After this acceptable oblation, the King departed for Boulogne, to resume hostilities against the English heretics, and claim from divine

justice the victory promised by his courtiers, and darkly intimated by the astrologer Nostradamus.

Such was the public mind under Henry the Second; such is the force with which, when the mass of the people remains entrammelled by ignorance and superstition, a certain traditional barbarism checks and counteracts the salutary progress of improvement, whilst authority and prejudice usurp the place of reason and conscience, and silence the appeals to humanity and justice.

CHAPTER IV.

MARY'S EDUCATION. — ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM CARDINAL LORRAIN. — ARRIVAL OF HER MOTHER. ELABORATE DISCOURSE PRONOUNCED BY MARY. — CURIOUS ANECDOTE OF CATHERINE AND THE DUCHESS DE VALENTINOIS. — GENEROSITY OF THE DUKE OF GUISE. — MARY'S EDUCATION RESUMED. — LEARNED WOMEN. — POETS. — PHILOSOPHERS. — THE ASTROLOGER NOSTRADAMUS. — PAUCITY OF ANECDOTES RESPECTING MARY. — ANECDOTES OF THE FRENCH COURT. — ANECDOTES OF THE DUKE OF NEMOURS AND FRANCIS DE ROHAN. — ORIGIN OF THE EDICT AGAINST CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES. JANE HALLUIN AND FRANCIS DE MONTMORENCY.

WHILST the court of France presented a succession of boisterous pleasures, Mary Stuart remained in her convent, subjected to strict rules of discipline, and regularly accustomed to join the nuns in their devotional exercises, and ascetic humiliations: and so readily did she comply with whatever

was required by her spiritual directors, that they began to cherish ambitious hopes of the royal pupil, and to boast that she had a religious vocation. This persuasion was too agreeable to self-love, and to enthusiasm, to be confined to their own community; the nuns officiously proclaimed their conviction, that the little Mary Stuart would be a saint on earth: and with such zeal was the rumour propagated, that it even reached the king, who had just returned from Boulogne, and who, not relishing the suggestion, immediately demanded that his daughter-in-law should be transferred to apartments in the palace, inaccessible to those sainted maids, and secure from their pious seductions. According to her learned biographer*, the execution of this mandate drew from Mary more tears than she had shed on leaving Scotland. Whether the endearing manners of the community had so strongly engaged her affections, or, that in

* Conæus.

the tranquillity of her retreat, so congenial to the simple wishes of childhood, the sensibilities of her nature had prematurely expanded, we are assured that she evinced deep sorrow at this change of residence, that she embraced every permission that was offered, of revisiting the sisters of the community, and gladly employed her needle in embroidering an altar-piece for the church of their convent.* In the palace, as before, she was attended by her two scholastic preceptors, her governess, the Lady Fleming, and her curator, Reid, Bishop of Orkney, who had succeeded Lord Livingston in that important trust. Her Maries continued to be her constant companions; and as she discovered capacities for application, nothing was omitted to stimulate her exertions or increase her diligence. Exclusive of the Latin and the French, she began also to study the Italian language; but music was then rarely cultivated as a science, and it

* Conæus, in Jebb.

was not till a late period that she learnt to play on the virginals and clavichords.

The education of Mary was precisely such as was given to the daughters of France, with certain supplemental literary advantages, for which she appears to have been exclusively indebted to the superintendence of her uncle, Cardinal Lorrain. In the education of a royal personage, however, mental cultivation, though highly valued, was of subordinate importance to the acquisition of certain external accomplishments, essentially necessary to that public exhibition, which was unavoidably imposed on the station of a sovereign. For those who live exposed to the public gaze, alternately the objects of criticism and admiration, to be wanting in a dignified carriage, or gracious demeanour; to be untasteful in dress, of ungraceful speech, or shy, repulsive manners, has ever been an irreparable defect, for which moral and intellectual qualities of sterling excellence, could

not compensate to their possessor. To guarantee their royal pupils from this misfortune, appears to have been a primary object with their teachers: and while the prince was taught to ride, to fence, and to perform all the athletic exercises, suited to his sex and rank, he was at the same time habituated to speak in public, to recite discourses, which he, perhaps, scarcely understood, and to address, in a tone of confidence and friendship, those to whose person and character he was almost a stranger. In like manner, a princess was early accustomed to the ceremony of receiving and dismissing visitors, taught to dispense smiles long before she had the privilege to distribute favors; and, almost before she had left the nursery, to enact the pageant of the future queen. In the drawing-room, as on the stage, a certain step and carriage were among the chief requisites. A diligent application to etiquette was required to enable the debutante

princess always to use the action suited to the speech, to offer such salutation as the person was entitled to expect, graduating from the sisterly embrace, to the scarcely perceptible inclination of the head; from the ardent greeting, at the very entrance of the hall, or the gracious approach towards the middle of the apartment, to the advance of a few paces from the chair of state. The artificial divisions of rank had introduced at the court a corresponding variety of gradations in ceremony, tediously minute and inelegant, but which, perhaps, in some degree, filled the vacuum, and enlivened the monotony of diurnal life. For the performance of these major and minor duties of politeness, it was necessary that the royal pupil should acquire a competent knowledge of heraldry; and at so early a period were the elements of this science communicated, that it is recorded of a little princess*, who

* Isabella, daughter of Charles the Ninth.—BRANTOME.

died before she was eight years of age, that she could *dissert* like a professor on the subject of genealogies, had always something pertinent to remark to the nobles who came from the provinces, and was perfectly mistress of every point of ceremony and etiquette. In the course of these elementary exercises, it was naturally supposed the royal pupil would acquire self-respect, in other words, a lofty consciousness of superiority, and of all the privileges and distinctions annexed to her birth and rank, and an inflexible resolution to maintain and defend them from invasion or neglect. The pride of ancestry, and the love of power, formed the basis of this principle, which was unquestionably calculated to impart dignity to the manners of a Prince, and what was either called magnanimity, or tenacity, or obstinacy to his character. It should be remarked, that at the court of Henry, pride frequently usurped the name, and assumed the character of dignity; but it must also

be acknowledged, that they were sometimes happily blended in the same individual. When the excellent Margaret of France refused to marry any Prince who should be her brother's subject, she was applauded for the supposed magnanimity of a very equivocal sentiment. When Admiral Coligny declined addressing the daughter of Diana de Poictiers, he extorted admiration by his high-spirited independence; when Diana herself rejected the suspicious honors offered to the Demoiselles de Breze, which would have rendered their legitimacy doubtful, she was praised for her solicitude, to preserve, uncontaminated, the ancient line of ancestry. In each of these examples it is evident that the principle of action might be resolved into reverence for high birth, unbounded veneration for the memory of great or glorious progenitors, and an unalterable conviction of the imperative duty, to transmit, unimpaired, these hereditary honors to posterity. Such was the self-respect imposed

on persons of illustrious rank, and which was evidently considered as paramount to all moral and religious obligations, since society shewed more indulgence to the dereliction of virtue than to the violation of decorum. Such was the system of morals, the school of manners, in which Mary Stuart was formed, under accomplished masters, a discreet governess, and various erudite preceptors; but she would have been little regarded as a daughter of Lorrain, had she not also been imbued with an abhorrence of heretical pravity, a superstitious veneration for the church of Rome, and unlimited deference for the authority of the supreme Pontiff. On themes such as these, she was accustomed to commit to memory, discourses, elaborately prepared, which she recited with a gravity, and fluency, and propriety, that astonished, and, perhaps, deceived, her admiring auditors. In 1550, when her mother, Mary of Guise, visited France, after a splendid welcome from Henry and

his court, she was conducted to her daughter's apartment.* At the sight of this Princess, whom she found surprisingly improved in beauty and demeanour, the Queen Dowager burst into tears of grateful joy, and hung over her child in an extasy of maternal affection: but great must have been her astonishment, when the young Queen, far from betraying any spontaneous emotions, demanded, with marvellous gravity, "what "factions continued to subsist in the noble "families of Scotland, at the same time "enquiring, by name, for those who had "evinced most attachment to the ancient "faith. She then proceeded to ask, with all "the usual expressions of royal benevolence, "whether the English still harassed her "dear native country; whether Divine wor-"ship remained in uncontaminated purity; "whether the prelates and priests attended "to their respective duties, expressing "her detestation of all who had forsaken "the worship of their fathers." She then,

* Conæus.

with admirable correctness, addressed an appropriate compliment to the Scottish nobles, by whom her mother was attended, strictly enjoining on them the duty of fidelity to their country, and the apostolic church. In conclusion, she expatiated on "the generous protection she had received "from the King of France, not without ad- "verting to the gratitude which it ought to "inspire in her faithful subjects." As Mary was at this period scarcely eight years of age, the recitation of this long discourse affords no ordinary indication of capacity and self-possession. In its borrowed sentiments it was not difficult to trace the spirit of Lorrain; nor could it escape observation, that even by her quick parts and docile dispositions, Mary must be eminently liable to imbibe any prejudices, which it might be the interest of the tutors to instil into her tender mind. If her improved looks delighted the Queen Dowager, her promising attainments seem to have equally

gratified the pride of her Scottish companions, one of whom protests, that whether in mind or person, she most surpassed other mortals, it would be difficult to determine.* The scene of this interview was Rouen, in which venerable town Henry detained the two Queens a few days, in order to prepare for them a carousal, or triumph†; after which they made a public

* Leslie, in Jebb.

† "The only classical part of this shew, was the "erection of a triumphal arch, under which passed "a procession, at once superb and grotesque. The "first object was a chariot, drawn by a unicorn, "after which came two elephants, or rather horses, "so disguised as to represent them, bearing on their "backs two litters, in which were seated ladies, of "whom a transient glimpse was taken from the lat-"ticed apertures. Religion followed in her trium-"phal car, holding in her arms the appropriate "symbol of a church. Next to these walked a man, "carrying in his arms the image of the Virgin and "the child Jesus. Then followed the Car of Fortune, "in which rode another man, young and handsome, "as the representative of Henry the Second, behind "whom appeared a boy, to represent the Dauphin. "To crown the whole, Neptune glided along with

entry into Paris. It was probably those happy scenes of early childhood, which most endeared to Mary the recollections of France. During a whole year she had the inestimable advantage of her mother's superintendence, whilst the Court progressed to various palaces; and Mary, who had hitherto been restricted to mental studies, varied her pursuits by riding, dancing, and other polite accomplishments. Highly as the Queen Dowager must have enjoyed this restoration to the bosom of her family, it was with far other views than the simple gratification of the domestic affections, that she revisited her native country. Participating in the ambitious character of her race, she had long since proposed to supplant the Governor in the Regency of Scotland, and now flattered herself the propitious moment

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"Amphitrite, attended by tritons and sea-monsters." —*Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise*, tom. ii.

was arrived, when, with the assistance of the King of France, that darling object might successfully be accomplished. The last few months had proved fatal to two of her relatives, her father, the sanguine and prosperous Claude of Guise, the founder of the dynasty in France, and the patient, though aspiring Cardinal, her uncle, who, at the age of eighty, still aspired to wear the papal tiara, which he had recently missed but by four votes, and which he might have ultimately obtained, had not death suddenly arrested his ecclesiastic speculations. Neither of these Princes had possessed the confidence of their Sovereign: even Francis of Guise, so long the companion of his youthful studies, rather dazzled than pleased him; and it was only the representations of Diana, which procured for his brother, the Cardinal, familiar access to his counsels; but not even Diana herself could vanquish the distrust which he secretly cherished against those ambi-

tious Princes, and by a weakness which the superstition of the day ascribed to the operation of sorcery, Henry, though incapable of commanding his passions, perpetually sacrificed his inclinations, and, in reality, lived in no less constraint than Catherine, caressing those he least loved, guided by men he neither trusted, nor approved, lavishing tenderness on the woman who often thwarted his wishes, and for her sake as often disappointing the Constable, whom alone he cordially esteemed. Independent of the mental timidity and vacillation which unfitted him for government, he was continually misled by vanity and ambition. Aware of his foibles, Mary of Guise addressed herself to these treacherous passions, and it was perhaps as much owing to her insinuating manners, as to the intrigues of her brother, the Cardinal, that she at length succeeded in obtaining from Henry the concession she required, namely, that he should guarantee all her previous

engagements with the Earl of Arran, who, on certain conditions, had agreed to resign to her the Regency of Scotland. Having achieved her purpose, she prepared to leave the court, and at Fontainebleau took an affectionate, and as it proved, an eternal farewel of her daughter, not, perhaps, without a momentary impression, that the prerogatives she sought could never wholly compensate for the children* she left, the country she renounced, the elegance and urbanity she must sacrifice for the turbulent pursuits of ambition, and the precarious chance of exercising a delegated sovereignty. It is creditable to the feelings of this Princess, that she suffered not her political speculations to stifle the sense of filial duty, since, on leaving Fontainebleau, she made a tedious journey to Joinville, purposely to condole with her widowed

* She had a son by the Duke de Longueville, in history scarcely noticed.

mother, Antoinetta of Bourbon*, who, with the austerity of a Roman matron, imposed on all her inmates and dependants the hard task of sympathising in her sorrows and her privations.

All the apartments of her vast but antique mansion were hung with black, in honor of her departed lord; for herself, discarding the usual ornaments of dress, she wore over her head a long sable veil, abjured public processions and amusements, and dedicated her remaining days to works of charity and devotion. Unfortunately her religion was strongly tinctured with ascetic bigotry; and such was her righteous abhorrence of heretics, that she often conscientiously reproached even her sons for politically conniving at their toleration; little therefore could she have relished the defensive league which Henry was about to form with the protestant Princes of Germany, and as little could

* Lesley in Jebb.

she have approved the temporizing policy which her daughter found it prudent to adopt in countenancing and protecting the Scottish Reformers. After the departure of the Queen Dowager from court, the pageantry of shows and spectacles gave place to objects of political and military interest. The ratification of peace with England had left the King at liberty to commence an indirect attack on the Emperor, for which his tyrannical government in Germany afforded a convenient pretext; delighting in war, and dazzled with the hope of conquest, Henry, who was but too eager to be confronted with the most able Prince in Europe though a persecutor himself, readily accepted from the oppressed Protestant Princes, the specious title of—*Defender of the Liberties of Germany*, and proudly assumed in person the command of his well-disciplined army. The march of the troops was regulated by the movements of the court, which advanced towards Join-

ville, where an incident occurred, which illustrates the relative position of the Queen and the Duchess de Valentinois. Catherine, who, as usual, with secret displeasure, had seen this lady included in the party, was here seized with a malady, for which the physicians could suggest no remedy, and which must have speedily cut short her existence but for the seasonable interposition of her rival, who, having witnessed a similar case, boldly proposed the adoption of a remedy which, in that instance, had been found successful, watched by the Queen's bed, and finally restored her to the world, and all its feverish solicitudes.* But this important service appears to have excited little gratitude in the suspicious Catherine, by whose confidential friends it was attributed to other motives than kindness; and she returned to Paris, invested with a limited regency, rather tantalizing than

* Varillas. — Garnier.

satisfactory to her ambition; whilst the King, guided by Montmorency, advanced towards Strasburgh. The achievements of this Prince, so often emblazoned by medals and poems, afford little for history to commemorate. It must, however, be admitted, that he signalized his activity in marching to the frontier, and his bombastic gallantry in forcing his cavalry to taste the waters of the Rhine, to convince the world how far he had extended his victorious career. In his expulsion of the Duchess of Lorrain * from her own territory, and the forcible abduction of her son, to be educated in France, this pretended champion of widows and orphans evidently adopted and imitated the policy and injustice of the imperial rival whom he condemned. The details of Henry's campaign have little connection with the subject of this work, but it is necessary to advert to

* Daniel. — Mezerai. — Garnier, tome xiii.

the immortal glory acquired by the Duke of Guise in his masterly defence of Metz, which, at the close of 1552, was besieged by a numerous army under the Duke of Alva, whose plan had received the sanction of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. To protect that city, the flower of the chivalry, and even of the royalty of France, had collected round its walls; the rival chiefs of Lorrain and Bourbon were here associated with their rival kinsman, the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Nevers, and the Duke de Nemours, but the supreme command was entrusted to the Duke of Guise. Experience justified the confidence reposed in his judgment, since, after a long and perilous conflict the siege was raised, and of the enemy none remained but the dying or the dead, the wounded and the helpless, apparently devoted to destruction. It was on this occasion that Francis of Lorrain displayed a generosity little congenial with the bigotry which, rather perhaps, from calcula-

tion than conviction he affected to cherish. On visiting the Imperial camp, he beheld with commiseration the suffering victims who had been abandoned to their fate, and summoned to their aid the celebrated Ambrose Paré, (the father of French surgery,) by whose skilful interposition the greater part were snatched from destruction; whilst to the survivors, the Duke's liberality supplied the means of returning to their friends and country. An action such as this, which speaks to the common sympathies of man, must in every age be appreciated and understood. But in the sixteenth century the Duke acquired far more applause, by causing all the heretical publications discovered in Metz to be consigned to the flames; an example of intolerance which proclaimed to Europe his abhorrence of the tenets maintained by the German Allies, to whom he had just rendered such efficient service: as in the first instance, his conduct was evidently prompted by genuine

feeling; in the second, it was probably suggested by the policy that taught him to conciliate the clergy, and to flatter the prejudices of the Parisian populace, which murmured against any coalition with the Protestants.

In the ensuing campaign (1553) the Duke sustained his rising reputation at the battle of Renti. In the following year (1554), the Duke of Chatelerault having quietly resigned his authority, he saw his sister, (with the full consent of the states,) invested with the Regency of Scotland; and no sooner had his niece completed her twelfth year, than she chose for her three guardians, the King of France, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorrain; the welfare of her kingdom was thus abandoned to the cupidity or ambition of foreign rulers, and the best interests, both of France and Scotland, indirectly sacrificed to the Guisian spirit of domination.

Amidst the eternal clashing of political parties, the progress of Mary's education was not neglected; the Cardinal Lorrain, who had early discovered her fine talents, was unremitted in his efforts to afford them cultivation and encouragement. During many years female learning had been cherished in France: and if in the person of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, it had been associated with the graces, in the Princess Margaret, the sister of Francis, it was united with wisdom, piety, and all the domestic virtues peculiar to her sex. In securing to his niece the solid knowledge of the scholar, the Cardinal was not unwilling to see her invested with those feminine attractions which alone give to woman her empire over the affections. Aware of the influence which is to be acquired by a graceful and persuasive elocution, he spared no assiduities to ensure to her the possession of that fascinating accomplishment, for which, in common with her mother and her

uncles, she had a native talent. For the sons and daughters of France it had been usual to select a single preceptor, to whose guidance the cultivation of the pupil's mind was exclusively committed: thus Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Spain, had been placed under the especial superintendence of Estienne; the celebrated Amiot presided over her brother Charles the Ninth. Willing to secure to his niece a decided pre-eminence over other princesses, the Cardinal, who, since the death of Francis, had been established supreme dictator over the new college, and was consequently recognized as the common patron of letters, engaged for Mary Stuart the assistance of all who were most able to exercise and improve her taste. In rhetoric, she appears to have been assisted by Fouchain *; her love of history was confirmed by Pasquier; her predilec-

* Author of a treatise on Rhetoric, dedicated to the Queen of Scots.

tion for poetry encouraged by Ronsard. Nor was Mary exonerated from the laborious application exacted of those who aspire to an intimate acquaintance with the Latin language, an attainment at that time indispensable to a liberal education, and in which she so far succeeded as both to write and speak it with elegance and fluency. It is not known at what period she commenced her lessons under Buchanan, whose classical compositions have been pronounced worthy of the Augustan age; but it is probable that she was indebted to him for the assistance she must have received in the composition of that celebrated Latin Oration in favor of female learning, which in her fourteenth year she recited at the Louvre, in the presence of a numerous assembly.*

* It is worthy of remark, that the most cultivated and intelligent women were suspected of a predilection for the new opinions. The Princess Margaret herself did not escape this imputation, for which,

The subject of this discourse was happily chosen to flatter the liberal opinions, which

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however, there appears to be no better foundation than that she revolted from systems of intolerance and persecution. The rapid progress of the reformation is, perhaps, with some plausibility ascribed to the countenance it received from that softer sex; which, both by its charms and accomplishments, had acquired at the court of France a complete ascendant. "No sooner," says Laboureur, "had Francis the First "invited letters and the arts from other countries, "than the Princesses of this court offered to them "their sincere homage, and in a short time spoke "with fluency all the languages, and became familiar "with the best classical authors. To this praise "more especially is entitled Margaret, Queen of "Navarre; nor is it less due to Renée, of Ferrara; to "Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, and several other "ladies of the first quality: but of all these prin-"cesses the most distinguished was Margaret, after-"wards Duchess of Savoy, who was not only emi-"nently learned but equally prudent, having never "separated from the Apostolic church. It may "with truth be said of this great Princess that she "had in France an empire not inferior to that of her "brother Henry, since she reigned over the minds "and held tributary the affections of his subjects, "who expressed their admiration of her sterling "qualities by investing her with the title of Minerva:

then prevailed in almost every court, respecting the propriety of female cultivation.

In France, more especially, learning, far from being the badge of singularity, had become the attribute of a superior station; it was not only the Marguerites, the Dames of Soubise, the Princesses of la Roye, who participated with the other sex in classical pursuits. In general, women of high rank were formed under the tuition of scholars and orators: many of their fair pupils aspired to be authors; and it is an undis-

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" never was any name hallowed with such applause
" unmixed with envy, nor was this tribute merely the
" venal praise of mendicant poets; but the deliberate
" homage of her most illustrious contemporaries, and,
" among others, of the great Chancellor of France,
" Michel l'Hopital, (it was the supreme delight of this
" Princess to make the fortune of a man of letters);
" and all, but the most sordid or malicious, applauded
" her choice, and honored her recommendation.—
" LABOUREUR, tome ii.

puted fact, that during this era, more literary ladies were found in France alone, than in all the other countries of Europe; and it may perhaps be doubted whether France itself has ever since produced an equal number of female students. That of women, once eminently distinguished, little should now remain beyond the scanty records of monumental eulogy, ceases to excite surprise when we advert to the fatal political tempests that in this country succeeded to a brief and luxuriant spring, rooted up those peculiar habits and manners engrafted on the old stock of chivalry, and, by the constant clashing of political and religious parties, destroyed the urbanity and enthusiasm, and perverted the open-hearted frankness which had been the leading feature of the primitive French character. Nor was it alone the female authors of that age, who were consigned to the grave of unsparing oblivion; the following passage of Estienne

Pasquier contains a brief memorial of many ingenious writers of the other sex *, who had mistaken an ephemeral celebrity for permanent fame.

" There was," says this legal critic, " a " glorious crusade against ignorance, of " which the van was led by Sève, Beza †, " Pelletier; or rather, these were precursors " of mightier bards, and higher potentates " of genius. After them came Pierre Ron- " sard and Joachim du Bellay, both gentle- " men of noble descent, each prosperous " in his career, the former eminently vic- " torious. Attracted by the glory that " crowned these laurelled chiefs, so many " adventurers flocked to their standard, that " you might have fancied the nation — the

* In the dictionary of authors, published in 1580, we find a considerable number of learned ladies, who had acquired celebrity by original compositions, or translations. — *See Estienne Pasquier's Recherches de la France; also, Les Lettres d'Estienne Pasquier.*

† Theodore Beza is well known for his Latin compositions, and for the share which he took with Marot in the paraphrase of the Psalms of David.

" age itself, consecrated to the muses.
" Pontus de Thiard, Estienne Jodelle,
" Henry Belleau*, Jean Anthoine de Baif†,
" Jaques Tehereau, Nicholas Denisot, who,
" by making an anagram of his name, called
" himself the Count d'Daunois, Louis le
" Corond, Olivier de Magny, Claude Butet,
" Louis de Masures, who translated Virgil.
" Even myself published Monophilus, and,

* Henry Belleau, no less distinguished by his moral character than his polite attainments, was patronized by the Marquis d'Elbœuf, and by him chosen to be the preceptor of his son: he was addicted to the study of natural history, and in imitation of an antient Greek poet, wrote a poetical dissertation on *precious stones*, which formed the subject of his longest productions.

† John Anthony Baif, another court poet, eminent in his day, acquired more celebrity for his introduction of the musical drama in France, and by the concerts given at his country-house, near Paris, at which nobles and princes assisted in the manner of the great at Ferrara. Baif attempted also to naturalize hexameters to the French language; but the experiment was unsuccessful. — *See Preface to the Recueil des plus belles Pièces des Poetes François, tant anciens que modernes. Paris*, 1692.

" during my leisure hours, composed Latin
" and French verses. All this passed under
" Henry the Second; and I compare these
" men to the battalion which stands the
" brunt of the battle. Each had his
" mistress, whom he exalted and deified
" in his lays. Each proudly challenged
" immortality, but some have already
" outlived the memory of their composi-
" tions." *

With the sentiments of Pasquier coincides the poetical criticism of the celebrated Joachim du Bellay, himself entitled to rank with the most eminent bards of his age and country, and who seems to have delighted to cherish and to honor congenial genius. In the following spirited passage, extracted from one of his poetical epistles, he sympathises with Pasquier in the predilections spontaneously yielded to Jodelle, and succeeds far better than the legal critic

* Lettres d'Estienne Pasquier, published, 1580.

in transfusing his sentiment to his readers.*

'Tis thine, Belleau, to teach my soul
On wine and gay desires to dwell,
And thine, sweet Baif — of Challamie,
Of rustick truth and love to tell,
Till the poor cottage dearer seems
Than courts, or regal diadems.

And Pelletier, thine the fervent lay
That bids me rise on soaring wing;
O'er thine own starry world to stray,
And with Urania's self to sing;
While Ronsard's high heroic voice
Bids all my soul in arms rejoice!

But, oh! can words, can numbers speak
The magic of thy lyre Jodelle?
A spirit thou, for man were weak,
To frame the strange, the mystick spell;

* Jean Passerat was a royal professor, who succeeded the celebrated Ramus in the philosophical chair, and devoted his leisure hours to poetry. Although attached to scientific pursuits, he lived in habits of intimacy with Henry Belleau, and Ronsard, and used to say, "He would rather have written Ronsard's "Ode on the Chancellor l'Hopital, than obtain pos-"session of the Duchy of Milan." — *Preface to the Recueil des plus belles Pièces, &c.*

That every sense in rapture chains,
To list thy more than mortal strains.

Yes, thine to rouse! to melt is thine!
To charm, to thrill the soul with fear,
As hers that served the Delphick shrine,
When the prophetick God was near;
So at thy voice my reason flies her throne,
And wildering, lost, obeys —*thyself* alone!*

Of all these poets, Joachim du Bellay, the Catullus of France, and Pierre Ronsard,

* The original of this paraphrase, for which the author is indebted to the pen of a young female friend, is here inserted.

Par les vers Teiens *Belleau* me fait aymer,
Et le vin et l'amour — Baif ta Challemie;
Ne fait, plus qu'une Royne, une rustique Amie
Et plus qu'une grande ville une village estimer,
Le Docte *Pelletier* fait mes flancs emplumer
Pour voler jusqu'au Ciel, avec son Uranie,
Et par l'horrible effroi d'une etrange armoire
Ronsard de Pie en Cap hardy, me fait armer.
Mais je ne sais comment ce demon de Jodelle
Demon est il vrayement car d'une voix mortelle,
Ne sorte point ses vers, tout soudain que je l'oye
M'aiguillone—m'espingle—m'epouvante—m'affolle,
Et comme Appollon fait de sa pretresse folle
A moi-même m'otant, me reçoit tout a soi.

both men of birth and high education, assumed, and, in the judgment of their learned readers, have maintained pre-eminence. In their own age, however, it was confessedly Estienne Jodelle who stole the suffrage of the people, and won the smiles of his sovereign. The secret of his success is perhaps to be found in the novel character of his productions; whilst Ronsard perplexed himself with composing his heroic national poem *, Jodelle, addressing himself to human passions, produced a regular tragedy, which was represented on the French stage, and procured for its author the classical appellation of *Eschylus*. After this prosperous commencement, he pro-

Yet Joachim du Bellay pays an extravagant compliment to Ronsard, when, in describing the Palace of Poetry, he assigns to Homer one apartment, the second to Virgil, and the third to Ronsard. In another passage of the same epistle, he pays a tribute to Magny, the poetical architect of Anet, a palace founded by Diana de Poictiers.

* The Franciade.

duced the Cleopatra, a play so highly relished by Henry the Second, who cared little for the sublimer strain of poetry, that he repeatedly witnessed its representation, and gratefully bestowed on the author a donation of 500 crowns.* The servile poets who flourished in this reign, have not escaped the rigour of Calvinistic reprehension, but it would be as absurd as invidious, to attribute to their influence the immorality of the courtiers, or the intolerance of their sovereign. In general, it must be allowed, that the poetical satellites of the palace satirized the new reformers, and associated with loyalty, honor, and fidelity, *the principles of the ancient faith;* but there existed another school of poets, unpatronized by the Court, and strongly attached to the cause of civil and religious liberty, who, in defiance of political authority or vulgar prejudices, enjoyed considerable reputation. At this time the love of poetry

* Garnier.

was widely, and even popularly diffused; the memory of the itinerant Troubadour was still cherished, and many a roundelay and madrigal, in imitation of the old provencal lays, was chaunted by mendicant minstrels, or merry villagers. Even of the court poets, there were some who participated not in the bigotry of the Princes of Lorrain. Joachim du Bellay, in his spirited epistles, stigmatizes the hypocrisy and venality of Rome, in numbers not less severe and terse than those of a Wyatt or a Chaucer; and the name of Marot, however obnoxious to the denunciations of churchmen, was still cherished by every true votary of the Muses. Although this veteran bard was now proscribed by the canons of orthodoxy, his genius had been fostered in a court; in his youth, he had tasted of princely munificence, and basked in the smiles of high-born beauty. Under Francis the First, he had risen from the insignificant station of a royal page, to the

dignity of a man of letters; and having, like Melin de St. Gelais, shared in the applause of King and nobles, like him he still survived to witness the tribute offered to younger and more prosperous rivals: but here the parallel ended. Melin hovered near the palace, denouncing heretics and schismatics, yet unable to escape the conviction that he was himself supplanted by Jodelle and Ronsard. Marot, on the contrary, was a fugitive and an exile; the immoralities of his youth had been easily overlooked, but the taint of Calvinism, contracted in mature age, was an inexpiable offence, which, had the strength of his adversaries equalled their malice, would have been visited with all the terrors of Dante's fictitious purgatory; but the poet found friends in the sex which had prompted his first efforts; and as in prosperity, he had been patronized by Margaret of Navarre; in adversity, he

received from her niece Renée * aid and protection. But even this magnanimous lady could not long defend him; and, finally, he threw himself into the arms of Calvin at Geneva, where, in conjunction with Theodore Beza, he completed a version of the Psalms of David, which he had begun under Francis the First †; and which is, to this day, considered as the pillar of his fame. Independent of this work, Marot had left enough to immortalize his memory; and the careless graces of his poetry continue, by their freshness, to delight those who turn with fatigue and disgust from the more elaborate compositions of his for-

* The Duchess of Ferrara.

† In the court of Francis it had been the fashion for every distinguished personage to appropriate to himself some Psalm, which was sung on profane occasions. The Dauphin Henry sung when hunting, that beginning with, "Comme on oit le cerf bruire." Diana de Poictiers sung when dancing, "Du fonds de "ma pensée." Anthony, King of Navarre, sung in dancing, "Revanche-moi prens mon querelle."— *Preface to the Recueil des Poetes Francois, &c.*

tunate rivals, of whom the greater part flourished under the especial patronage of Cardinal Lorrain.

Amidst the indications of intelligence and taste, which shed lustre over the court of France, a vestige of barbarous ignorance and superstition is discovered in the respect and consideration shewn to the renowned Nicholas Cretin, better known by the appellation of Nostradamus, the physician, astrologer, philosopher in ordinary to Henry, King of France, and the Princess Margaret. This extraordinary individual dedicated to *Divine Power*, and the French nation, certain rhapsodical prophecies or Centuries, in which he announced future events, in language inflated and mysterious as the Sibylline oracles, but which was artfully calculated to flatter the prejudices of those to whom they were addressed; his predictions were eagerly imbibed by Catherine de Medicis; and there is but too much reason to believe that they occasionally

fostered, both in Francis of Lorrain, and his intriguing brother, that inordinate ambition, pernicious to France, and eventually fatal to the young Queen of Scotland.*

* Epistle dedicated to Divine Power, and to the French nation, according to a prophecy promulgated by M. Anthony Cretin, professor, counsellor, philosopher, and astrologer in ordinary to the King of France, and to the Duchess of Savoy: — "Honor "and glory be to the admirable power of God, and "health and peace to the French nation for ever." After this salutation, the Author enters into a learned discourse on the planetary influence which predominates in different countries: "Jupiter rules in Gaul, "Saturn in Italy, Mars in Asia Minor, Mars and "Mercury in Spain. Given on the Mount of Sybils, "the 13th of January, 1567. There shall come one "who shall prevail over Europe, who shall have the "aged to give him counsel, the young and vigorous "to execute them, by whom peace shall be preserved "in its seat, and bring to all prosperity and honor."

As a specimen of this author's style, the following passage is extracted from the Centuries, published in 1549; they evidently refer to the belligerent religious parties, and, in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, were republished, with a copious and learned exposition, of which the object was to prove, that

It is not known that Mary was one of his votaries; none of his predictions were

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by the extirpation or expulsion of the Hugonots, the Divine promise was about to be accomplished.

To all the philosophers, astrologers, and poets of this age: —

" Lorsque de ses feux vagabonds assemblez par le " doux printems, le Bellier s'esgagera dans ce mois " plus beau une belle saison neuve esclerera, bien " heureux l'esprit que la grace de Dieux, par i ceux " jours a voulu reserver quand le grand pasteur tout " a un rangera, pasteurs et bétail hors seront les er- " reurs nettement éclairés d'une sainte ardeur, vérité " devolant. En ce sera alors quand toutes les planètes " seront, conjointes au signe d'Arie, et en le tems " qu'on verra tous les états être à gré, et justice à " son degré et une seule sainte église veiller, et les " Roys et Princes de la terre bien conseillez, et la no- " blesse de mesure, et les impots moderez, et un seul " Dieu adoré; alors mes prophities seront parachevés, " car de l'advenir par quelque conjecture un art, certain, " procedant de nature diviner est a l'homme donné, " de l'Eternel, depuis que l'homme est né, d'estre divin " en l'ame, l'ame s'il divine c'est de son estre, en pre- " mier origine puis c'est le ciel figurat en ce corps " de ce mode, ou accords ou discords, le quel pre- " nant les jugemens sinistres et prognostiques, guidé " d'un seul Dieu Pere sur heretiques, il ouvrira la

addressed to her; but she had been, from infancy, addicted to superstition, a propensity not to be eradicated at the court of Henry and Catherine, nor even by the process of her brilliant education; in which the memory appears to have been cultivated without exercising the judgment, and the imagination constantly stimulated, whilst the reasoning powers were held in strict subordination to certain legitimate systems of opinion. In other respects, she appears to have been guarded as carefully as was compatible with her situation, from whatever could corrupt her mind or manners; the presence of a youthful Princess imposed restraint on all who approached her; and, if we may believe St. Foix, no impropriety of speech was permitted in her attendants. If such was the plan pursued with the two elder daughters of Henry and Catherine,

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" porte, en suscitant l'église militaire." — *Extracted from a Book of Prophecies, published in* 1559.

the Queen of Spain, and Claude, Duchess of Lorrain, it may naturally be inferred, it was equally adopted with Mary Stuart, who was educated to be the future Queen of France.*

From the age of twelve, the children of France took their places in religious processions; and, on high and rare occasions, were admitted to the evening spectacles. Every afternoon, the Princesses assembled in the Queen's private apartment, where she usually spent two or three hours in embroidery, with her female attendants; and where it sometimes happened, that an ambassador, or some other great personage, was introduced, whom Catherine received with mingled majesty and affability. "It was ob-
"served," says Conæus, "that Mary Stuart
"had neither eye nor ear but for her elect
"step-mother; that she eagerly treasured
"every word that fell from her lips, watched
"her looks, imitated her motions, and evi-

* Essays on Paris.

"dently was anxious to form herself by the "accomplished model before her." Catherine, having once demanded of the young Queen, why she seemed to prefer her society to that of her youthful and more suitable companions? the polished Mary replied, "that with them she might, indeed, enjoy "much, but could learn nothing; whilst "in her Majesty's wisdom and affability, "she found an example and a guide for "her future life."* Catherine, readily divining the motive of this extraordinary deference, and believing that Mary's humility was but the specious veil with which she disguised an ambitious impatience to supplant her on the throne, conceived for her an aversion, abstracted from the repugnance she already felt for her, as belonging to the house of Guise. This dislike increased as her fine talents came to be unfolded, from the conviction, however reluctantly admitted, that she was superior to her own daughters in na-

* Conæus in Jebb.

tive and acquired talents. On her part, the young Queen was, perhaps, not slow to perceive the antipathy, and to requite it with equal hatred. It may be doubted, how far Catherine presumed to betray her imperious temper to the niece of Cardinal Lorrain; but if that be true, which Brantome affirms, of the unconquerable terror which her very name inspired in her favourite daughter, the Queen of Spain, it is not unlikely that her artificial suavity was, in private, often exchanged for violence and harshness not less calculated to excite alarm than sure to inspire disgust. In these visits to Catherine's apartments, the sombre labours of the needle were alternately enlivened by reading, by reciting verses, by relating stories, and, above all, by suggesting devices, which, in that heraldic age, formed an essential part of a polite education. Although the composition of devices* was, strictly speaking, an art in which

* According to Estienne, "a device is simply a par-
"ticular and rare concetto which is made by means of

knowledge and judgment were alike necessary, it had long been pursued by the brave

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" a similitude or comparison, having, for that purpose, " the figure of something either natural (so it be not " human) or artificial, accompanied with acute, subtle, " concise words. The device is extolled as the most " concise and compendious form of communicating " a thought or sentiment; as a single ray of the sun " may illuminate a cavern, a single device enlightens " the subject." The author then falls into a rhapsodical praise of his subject: " It delights the eye, it cap- " tivates the imagination, it is also profitable, and use- " ful, and, therefore, surpasseth not only all other arts, " but also painting, since this only represents the " body and exquisite features of the face, whereas a " device exposes the rare ideas and gallant sentiments " of its author, far more perspicuously than physiog- " nomy, by the proportions and lineaments of the " face; it also excels poetry, inasmuch as it joineth " profit with pleasure, since none merit the title of de- " vices unless they at once please by their grace, and " yield profit by their doctrine."

The Author proceeds to prove that devices have a tendency to improve the character: " he who has " once propounded a virtuous sentiment in a device, is " obliged ever after to appear to all the world such " as he hath declared himself, as if it were an obligation " signed with his own hand, and sealed with his seal,

and the fair, with little attention to science or criticism, and by the ladies, more espe-

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" which should constrain him never to depart from " the practice of virtue. The utility of devices is then " insisted on, by facilitating the interchange of sen- " timent. A lover may use it as the spokesman of his " affections to his mistress; a master to his servitor; a " prince to his officers or subjects. A device presents " itself to the eyes of all the world, being placed upon " frontispieces of houses, in galleries, upon arms, and " a thousand other places, whence it becomes a delight- " ful object to the sight, and compels us to become " acquainted with the conceptions of its author."

" 'Tis true," continues the Author, " this art is " one of the most difficult, and doth only appear facile " to those that did never practice it. Read Hannibal " Caro upon this subject, who writes to the Duchess " d'Urbino, Devices are not things which are met " with in books, or which are made according to the " sudden fancy of an author; they require long medi- " tation, and it seldom happens that they are created " by a sudden sally of wit, though such sallies are " sometimes better than those for which we have " pumped a long time.

" Five conditions are required in the device:

" 1st, A just proportion of the soul to the body.

" 2d, That it present agreeable images, the human " form alone excluded.

cially, was attempted, without other requisites than sentiment and taste.

Margaret, Queen of Navarre, had excelled in this elegant species of trifling, in which her niece, the Princess Margaret, was equally felicitous. Catherine herself was, in this, the fortunate rival of the Duchess de Valentinois. Mary Stuart imitated, and sometimes surpassed them; and in after-life, the art of making devices soothed many solitary hours of her unhappy existence. *

Although the young Princesses were occasionally admitted into public, it must not be supposed that they shared in the

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"3d, That it be not so obscure as to need a syhil "to expound it.

"4th, and 5th, And that the motto be not in the "vulgar tongue; to this, it is added, that the motto "be concise and terse, not obscure; that it be not "too fantastic, but rather express an ingenious "sentiment."

The Art of making Devices, translated from the French of Estienne Sieur de Fossé, by Thomas Blount, Esq. published in 1640.

diversions, which, day after day, were produced in unceasing rotation. Of these ever-varied amusements, the lively Brantome has transmitted a description, which strikingly illustrates the domestic habits of the French nobility, and in what manner they were accustomed to live with their Sovereign. At seven the King rose, and, according to a practice which prevailed with all his successors, admitted gentlemen from the provinces, and other individuals who came on business, and with whom he communicated till the hour of ten, when he went to mass to show his devotion, and immediately after to dinner, at which individuals of his own sex only were present. No sooner was this meal dispatched, than he regularly paid a visit of two hours to the Queen's apartment, where he found the Princes of the blood, and the members of the royal family assembled in the inner chamber, whilst the anti-chamber was occu-

pied by the younger lords and ladies of the court, cavaliers and demoiselles engaged in familiar conversation, and to whom the inexhaustible themes of love and politics, religion and scandal, supplied a fund of interest and entertainment. Here each gentleman engrossed, in the manner of a Spanish Tertulia, the lady whom he preferred as a friend, a mistress, or a companion. Lovers might here whisper their amorous tales, and admirers express their respectful sentiments by some new device or ingenious emblem, felicitously adapted to the mysticism of romantic passion; on the whole, there can be little doubt that the anti-chamber was the scene of social pleasure, and the presence-chamber of uncongenial state. Here the King remained two hours, an interval agreeably employed not only in the relative performance of his duties, but in making arrangements for the remainder of the day. With Henry the Second, horses and dogs

were favourite objects; hunting and jousting his darling amusements: these furnished copious topics of conversation, and concealed even from himself his paucity of ideas. If it was his first wish to pursue the chase, his next impulse was to induce the ladies to join in the exercise, or he would, perhaps, play at tennis in the royal gardens, where the Queen and her dames must witness his adroitness from their well known balcony. In winter, frost and snow brought a rich accession to the royal pastimes; it was delightful to skait on the lakes or ponds of Fontainebleau, where those who glided on without impediment did well, still better those who, by slipping down, furnished an occasion for hearty merriment to the illustrious spectators; under the same hybernal auspices they might sometimes construct a fortress of ice, when the assailants battered each other unmercifully with snow balls, the ladies laughing and applauding by turns. A rainy day was somewhat

afflictive to Henry, and to those who combined activity of body with indolence of mind; but the inventive genius of Catherine produced a ballet for the evening, or the Princess Margaret patronized the recitation of a poem; or Diana de Poictiers composed a new and ingenious device: or, at the very worst, the professed fool*, the

* This fortunate fool was a native of Picardy, and, by his mother, destined for the church. He was taken into the service of Henry's elder brother, the Duke of Orleans; at first, says Brantome, "he "was a downright simpleton, but in time, thanks to "the gallanting and refinements of the court, and the "good lessons of his masters, Guy, and La Force, he "became such, (no offence to Triboulet and Sibilot) "that Monsieur Ronsard, by the king's express com-"mand, deigned to make him the theme of one of "his inscriptions, as if he had been the wisest man in "France." On the death of the Duke of Orleans, Thony was transferred to Henry, who indulged him to excess, as did Monsieur, the Constable, whom he was accustomed to call his father. "Thony was ob-"served to be as sagacious as other courtiers, in mak-"ing advances to the prosperous, and shunning the "unfortunate; was any one in favour, Thony pur-"sued him; was he in disgrace, Thony quitted him. "The Constable was, however, always constant to

little Thony, caressed by the King and courtiers, was always ready to extract laughter by his clownish blunders, his bodily wit, and real or affected simplicity. In spite of its improvements, the court of Henry the Second religiously cherished this satellite of barbarous and unlettered sovereigns. In addition to these grand resources, Henry played at dice; and we are assured that he was successful, although he uniformly declined accepting what he had won: twice a week too, there was a regular ball, according to Catherine de Medicis, to satisfy the nobility, who, without singing and dancing, could never be kept in good humour.* With the help of these potent auxiliaries, the court was, probably, never quite irksome to Henry; and, on gala-days, perhaps satisfied the

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"Thony, who sat by his side at dinner, and was "feasted like a little king." — *Brantome's Life of Anne Montmorency.*

* See Catherine's Instructions to Charles the Ninth, in Laboureur, page 490, tome ii.

Constable Montmorency; to Andelot or Coligny, it must have been uniformly dull and monotonous; and never but during a tournament, or on the eve of a battle, absorbed the splendid ambition of the Duke of Guise. To superficial observers, this magnificent scene of royalty and nobility assumed the imposing and attractive aspect of a temple dedicated to courtesy and pleasure, a magic world blest with a rich and everlasting spring of youthful enthusiasm, romantic grace, and refulgent beauty. But on a more attentive survey, it was discovered that ennui and discontent mingled in every scene, however fair and specious. The perfect conformity of sentiment and taste which was required in this numerous society, often imposed restrictions and vexations on the individual not less imperative and even more revolting than the rules of a monastic community. To be constrained to laugh without gaiety, to dance or revel without inclination, was often irksome as the livelong fast, or midnight vigil. To

relieve this monotony, the chief and never failing resource appears to have been ridicule; personal peculiarities were with avidity sought and seized, to create mirth less innocent than that extracted from the simple Thony. Neither the valour nor the magnanimity of Coligny, protected from a sneer his habitual use of the tooth-pick *; nor did the great Constable himself escape sarcasm, at the expense of his paternosters.† The discomfiture which that veteran

* Admiral Coligny, who was habitually subject to fits of abstraction, and who spoke slowly and with some degree of hesitation, almost constantly used his tooth-pick when engaged in serious conversation. — *Vie de Gaspar Coligny.*

† It became a proverb, 'beware of the Constable's paternosters,' originating in that great man's practice of mechanically muttering at a certain hour, his devotional exercises, without suspending his ordinary avocations; whence it happened, that he sometimes broke forth into exclamations of ludicrous incongruity; as, "Go take such a one; hang up that man "to yonder tree; cut that rascal down; set fire to "yonder village," &c.; "never, however, deviating "from his paternosters," adds Brantome, "till he "had made an end of them, not thinking it right to

had once experienced in the preceding reign, at the instigation of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, (confessedly one of the most amiable women of her age,) was still remembered and relished in the time of Henry the Second, and furnished many a frivolous stripling with an opportunity of satyrizing the majestic warrior.*

It is superfluous to observe, that Mary Stuart, in common with other young Princesses, was strictly confined to the presence-chamber, and completely enthralled by rules of state and decorum. On high and solemn festivals, she joined the junior branches of the royal family, in public exhibitions;

" defer this devotion to another hour, so strictly was " he conscientious." — *See Brantome Vie de Anne Montmorency.*

* When the Princess Jane of Navarre was married by proxy to the Duke of Cleves, Queen Margaret, who thought herself thwarted by the Constable, imposed on him the unsuitable office of carrying the little Princess, overloaded with gold and jewels, to church; the Constable complied with an ill grace, and his vexation and awkwardness diverted the whole court.—*Brantome.* —*Varillas.* — *Esprit de La Ligue.*

and it must have been on one of those occasions, that she delivered the celebrated oration on the advantages of female learning, which is familiarly mentioned by Brantome.* She was, also, sometimes seen to dance with her intended consort, the decorous Passamento d'Espagne, or solemn minuet; on one occasion she confronted the beautiful Anne, of Este, in a Gaillarde dance, when the aunt confessedly eclipsed the niece in grace, dignity, and loveliness. At the proper season, she walked in that grand religious procession, in which every lady bore in her right hand the palm of triumph, and in the festival at Candlemas, when each carried a lighted torch. It was on the last occasion, that Mary, whose fair and blooming complexion was admirably contrasted with the sombre aspect of the ceremony, extorted from a woman of the lower class, the enthusiastic exclamation, of "Are you not

* This discourse was printed, and appears to have been in the library which Mary carried with her to Scotland.

indeed an angel?" It might appear extraordinary, that there should be so few personal anecdotes of this Princess during the early part of her residence in France. But it should be recollected, that though contracted to the Dauphin, she was still considered as a Scottish Queen; and, what to many of the old French nobility was still more displeasing, a daughter of Lorrain, against whose ambitious usurpation, a powerful prejudice subsisted. It was also a part of the policy of Catherine de Medicis, to throw a shade of obscurity over one whose youthful attraction and premature talents already excited her antipathy and suspicion. There is a traditionary anecdote, that Mary first incurred her displeasure by an indiscreet comparison between their respective families, in which the heiress of James the Fifth presumed in her presence to boast of her descent from *a centenary line* of Kings, and that the mortification which this sally inflicted on Catherine was

never to be effaced. However this may be, it was perfectly understood by the whisperers and scene-setters of the court, that Catherine, for private reasons, deprecated, and would postpone, if not prevent, the Scottish alliance.

To resume the subject of Mary's education; in one respect, at least, this must have been a happy portion of her existence, since she was constantly animated with the emulation inspired by classical pursuits, and the sympathies naturally awakened in cultivating the elegant accomplishments. It should also be remembered, that instead of being immured in academic walls, during the summer she pursued her studies in the gardens of Villars Cotterets, or beneath the majestic oaks of Fontainebleau, with spirits exhilarated, and activity redoubled by the smiling aspect and congenial influence of nature. But although she entered not into the dissipations of the court, she must have

been perfectly aware of the envy, duplicity, and hypocrisy which prevailed in its polished circles. The scandal of the day, however embellished or disguised by an imposing tone of morality, must have made its way to her apartment; yet, in whatever degree the principles of genuine piety and virtue might in this circle be impugned, it is but fair to observe, that an unequivocal proof of female frailty was invariably visited with obloquy and contempt, and sometimes even punished with extreme rigour. In the year 1555, memorable for the abdication of Charles the Fifth, an incident occurred, which, for the time, absorbed the attention of the privileged orders. Frances Rohan*, a lady of royal birth, nearly allied to the Dukes of Vendome, a woman celebrated for her wit and beauty, and who had hitherto preserved an unblemished reputa-

* Daughter of René, first Duke of Rohan, and Isabella d'Albret, cousin-german to Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre.

tion, was seduced by the Duke de Nemours under a solemn promise of marriage, of which her kinsmen, Anthony and Louis Bourbon, imperatively demanded the fulfilment; their remonstrances were received with contempt. The haughty Duke, not only renounced the woman he had learnt to despise, but adding calumny to perfidy, disclaimed all interest in the child to whom she had given birth, and actually professed to believe she had another paramour. Outraged by an accusation, of which the falsehood was notorious, the unhappy lady had no alternative but to take refuge in Navarre, under the protection of Anthony Bourbon, who was one of her nearest relatives, and institute a legal process for breach of contract against her perfidious seducer. The high rank of the parties increased the sympathy of the public. Henry himself was in some degree implicated in the disgrace of a lady who had the honor of his alliance; but after a tedious litigation, the Duke of

Nemours preserved his freedom, and Frances Rohan, to disguise from the world her degradation, assumed the style of Mademoiselle Garnache, and after an interval of some years, was put into possession of a certain estates, with the title of Duchess de Lodunois.*

The emotion created by Mademoiselle de Rohan's situation had scarcely subsided, when the attention of the court was transferred to a more interesting object; the

* In the memoirs of Ribier, it appears that in the year 1537, an application having been made by the Prince of Transylvania, to espouse a daughter of France, the King recommended the election of Mademoiselle Rohan. From some cause unexplained the overture was not accepted. Although this lady had lost her process against the Duke of Nemours in 1556, her pretensions were still supported by her royal relatives; and by some French historians it is affirmed, that but for the Calvinistic principles embraced by her family, which offended the court, the Duke would have been compelled to render justice to her, and to establish the legitimacy of her son, who was designated the Prince de Genevois, and distinguished himself in the civil wars of France. — Varillas. — Garnier. — Laboureur.

young and virtuous Jane Halluin, the daughter of the Sieur de Piennes, who, though she formed no pretensions to royal lineage, was descended from one of the most ancient houses in France, and like the frail mistress of the Duke de Nemours, a maid of honour to Catherine de Medicis. From childhood she had engaged the attention of Francis de Montmorency, the eldest son of the great Constable, one of the gallant cavaliers of the day, and, like his father, no less impassioned for military glory than the chivalric heroes who belonged to the age of Louis the Twelfth. The progress of this juvenile affection was checked by the fortune of war, by which Francis was made a prisoner in Flanders, where he remained three years in honourable captivity, an interval wisely employed in repairing the deficiencies of his education, from which the Constable had systematically withheld the privileges of classical improvement; nor till he found

himself thrown on his own resources, did Francis learn to appreciate the value of mental attainments. In the narrow limits of a prison, books became his favourite companions; the unfortunate soldier took refuge in study from his sad reflections, and by steady application acquired, during the season of adversity, an extensive acquaintance with the best Latin and Italian authors. On his return to France in 1555, he was received by his family with transports of joy, and by the King himself with almost parental affection; but the court presented to him no object so attractive as Jane Halluin, who had now reached her nineteenth year, embellished with all the graces and accomplishments of her sex, and confessedly among the fairest in the train of her royal mistress. A mutual affection was created in the youthful pair, who soon exchanged vows of love and reciprocal fidelity, and by an almost daily intercourse confirmed their attachment. But it was not long

before Jane suspected that the Constable aspired to a more ambitious alliance; Diana of France, by the death of the Duke de Castro, was at the age of eighteen become a widow, and rumour whispered, that Francis Montmorency was chosen by the King to be her future husband. The surmise was immediately imparted to Montmorency, who, to appease her jealous solicitudes, put into her possession a written promise of marriage, which, according to the laws at that time existing in France and other countries of Europe, appears to have been equivalent to a solemn betrothment, and to have incapacitated the contracting parties from any subsequent engagement. It was not long before the apprehensions of Jane were justified by a formal communication from the Constable, in which he announced to his son, the honor intended him by his gracious Sovereign. Whether he had hitherto been blind to his son's attachment, or whether he was persuaded

that all other passions, even in a youthful breast, must confess the omnipotence of ambition, his astonishment was unspeakable, when Francis replied, in the language of a lover, that he could not in this instance avail himself of his master's condescension, having in an unguarded moment furnished Jane Halluin with a written document, which even royal authority could not cancel. From the Constable's general character it might have been expected that his disappointment would vent itself in menaces and maledictions; but, in this instance, prudence having taught him to subdue resentment, he had recourse to prayers and supplications, represented the necessity of counteracting the machinations of the house of Guise, and of fortifying his family with an alliance which, in any pressing contingency, might secure to them safety and protection. Against such arguments Francis re-urged the existence of the promise so indiscreetly confided to Mademoi-

selle Pienne, but which was imperatively binding on his honor. In that age scarcely any limits were offered to parental authority, and Francis had been too long habituated to submission, not to qualify his refusal with ample promises of future obedience. Having partially succeeded with the lover, the Constable hoped by persuasion to extort the contract from the lady; but here he was deceived. Relying on the stability of Montmorency's affections, Jane resisted his importunities, alleging that the vows which had been pronounced before God could never be recalled; and as Montmorency had sanctified his disobedience by the name of honor, in like manner she fortified her opposition by appealing to the paramount duty of conscience. Provoked by her firmness, the Constable discarded all tenderness, and affecting to consider her as an artful inveigling woman, who had taken advantage of his son's weakness, to seduce him from his duty, caused her to be examined before

the Bishop of Paris, on the grounds of her refusal to relinquish the contract. It was within the walls of the Louvre, so often the scene of her innocent pleasures, that the interrogations were administered, in the presence of Cardinal Lorrain, the Archbishop of Viennes, the Bishop of Paris, the President of the Parliament, to whom she had been represented as the most crafty of her sex; but at the first glance the comparison of her blooming youth with the riper age of Francis Montmorency, who had completed his twenty-fifth year, discredited this part of the accusation, whilst her answers were given with an artless simplicity little calculated to substantiate the charge of seduction employed by her accuser. In reality, the statement contained little more than the ordinary process of juvenile attachment. Five years had passed since Francis professed to love, and intimated his wishes to espouse her, to which she objected from the well-grounded apprehension that his father

would look for a higher alliance. To silence her scruples, he had proposed a long probation, believing that, with patience and exemplary filial obedience, he should finally succeed in obtaining the parental benediction. During his imprisonment, they had corresponded: on his return to France, he resumed his professions with increased ardour; yet she insisted, and this declaration was obviously made with the hope of averting from them the Constable's vengeance, that to her own relatives she had never disclosed their attachment. She protested also, that she had never accepted any present, or received any other pledge of fidelity, than the nuptial contract; but she frankly acknowledged the alarm she had experienced in hearing of the projected alliance with the Duchess de Castro. Nor, though eager to screen her lover from parental resentment, did she dissemble that he had persisted in renewing his vows of fidelity; and, that even yesterday, beneath

his father's roof, he had reiterated professions of unalterable attachment. In her own defence she alleged, that if she had erred in listening to him, it was the fault of ignorance, having never suspected that clandestine engagements were prohibited, even without the consent of father and mother, since marriage, she added, with modest firmness, was a sacrament of the church, and originally ordained by God: for all other questions, she referred her examiners to Francis Montmorency, whom she must continue to regard as her betrothed husband. Her deposition was confirmed by that of her more timid lover; yet, when reminded of the filial duties, which he had violated by that written promise, he replied, evasively, that at the moment he committed the folly, he had forgotten to weigh the consequences of his indiscretion, but that if the past could be recalled, he should probably act with more consideration. As this subterfuge had been antici-

pated by Jane, she perhaps drew from it no gloomy presage; for when Montmorency was asked if he would abide by the testimony of Mademoiselle de Pienne, he replied, with warmth, that she had too much honor ever to deviate from truth.

No sooner was the Constable furnished with these important depositions, than he obliged his son to go to Rome, to solicit from the Pope, (Paul the Fourth,) the cassation of the contract; and effectually to prevent any future intercourse or correspondence between the lovers, he procured an arbitrary mandate from the court, for shutting up Jane in the convent of the Filles Dieu, at Paris. On leaving Paris, it was probably the sincere intention of Francis Montmorency rather to impede than accelerate the termination of the cause, of which, he was ostensibly the suitor; but, whilst time and absence insensibly diminished his juvenile passion, his resentment, if not his ambition, was excited by

the discovery, not only that his father's suit was tacitly rejected by the Pope, but that it was indirectly traversed by the agency of Cardinal Lorrain, who, dreading the accession of power which a royal alliance was likely to secure to the house of Montmorency, adroitly insinuated to the Pontiff, that the young Diana would be better bestowed on one of his kinsmen (the rapacious Caraffas) than on the son of that stubborn minister, who had never cordially co-operated with his Holiness in any political or religious views for the welfare of Europe. By this artful management, the cassation of the pretended marriage of Mademoiselle de Pienne became an affair of state, scarcely less complicated with the intrigues of rival statesmen, than the question of divorce formerly so long agitated between Henry the Eighth and Catherine of Arragon. During these various speculations, the unfortunate victim of the Constable's displeasure, remained within her conventual pri-

son, without the solace of friendship, or the support of kindred connexions. For the frail Mademoiselle Rohan, there had been more than one royal champion, and, in her own family, a powerful confederacy of protectors; but the virtuous Jane Halluin remained without a single advocate; neither kinsman nor friend had the temerity to espouse her cause in defiance of the King and his minister. Left to herself, and bereaved of all support, save that which hope and fancy minister to susceptible minds, she relied with truly feminine credulity on her lover's constancy and affection, little suspecting that with him the romance of passion had ended, and that ambition had resumed its supremacy. After a tedious interval of suspense, she heard, with more surprize than joy, that two gentlemen of his suite were arrived from Rome, and, by a special order from the King, demanded access to her presence. At the sight of M. de la Porte, the private secretary, whom Francis admitted

to his familiar confidence, accompanied by several official personages, Jane was naturally led to conclude that some new scheme was about to be unfolded; and when she observed with what cold constrained looks de la Porte presented her with a letter, in which she recognized Montmorency's hand, she could no longer doubt what was preparing against her; this suspicion became certainty when she read as follows:

" Mademoiselle de Pienne,

" Having become fully sensible of " the errors into which I was once be- " trayed by culpable rashness, by which I " have equally transgressed against the " laws of God, my duty to the King, " and my honoured father and mother; " I have frankly stated to the Pope in " what manner the engagement came " to take place between us, imploring of " his Holiness, absolution for my offences, " which he has been graciously pleased to

" grant, at the same time, bestowing on
" me such a dispensation as restores to me
" my primitive liberty, of which I now
" write to apprize you; and, in order that
" we may both be exonerated from all
" pains or penalties otherwise incurred, I
" here renounce whatever words or promises
" have passed between us, not only absolving
" you from your engagements, but praying
" you, on your part, to hold yourself
" equally free, and to embrace any other
" suitable marriage, being resolved never
" to hold with you farther or more inti-
" mate communication. Not but that I
" esteem you virtuous and honourable, and
" nobly descended, but that I would dis-
" burthen my conscience, and avert from
" both of us the calamities which must
" otherwise ensue, and, above all, obtain
" from his Majesty and my parents, the
" remission of my former trespass, and so
" acquit myself of the duty I owe to God,
" of whom, I supplicate that he may take

" you under his holy protection. — Rome,
" this 5th of February, from him whom
" you will find ever ready to serve you."

La Porte having first submitted this epistle to her private perusal, she was required to read it aloud, whilst a notary, who was in attendance, should make a transcript of its contents. In performing her painful task, Jane was probably sustained by the persuasion, which she avowed, that it contained not Montmorency's sentiments. De la Porte suffered her not to retain this illusion.

" Mademoiselle, all that I have to say, is
" on the part of M. Montmorency. You
" have seen, by his letter, how much he
" deplores having so deeply offended God,
" the King, my Lord the Constable, and
" Madame, his mother, in proposing mar-
" riage without their knowledge and con-
" sent; that he is anxious to repair his fault;
" and, since your conduct has been so free
" from reproach, that your reputation can-

" not be compromised; and since the Pope " has restored to him the full liberty of " contracting marriage, whenever he shall " so please; for all these reasons, I declare " to you, by his express command, that " he releases you from all vows and pro- " mises of fidelity, beseeching and requir- " ing you, on your part, to declare that " you hold him free to contract another " engagement."

Jane listened, not without weeping, and, with difficulty, replied: " M. de la Porte, I " would rather the violation of those pro- " mises should come from M. de Montmo- " rency than from me: he proves, by the " conversation you have just held, that he " has less courage than a woman, and that " he is far different from what he boasted, " when he said, he would rather lose his " life than swerve from his purpose; he has " deceived my expectations; and I now " perceive he would rather be rich and " great, than honourable."

"Mademoiselle, M. de Montmorency "knows you to be virtuous and well de- "scended, as he has already written; he "is also, himself, of a noble and antient "house; educated in principles of probity "and integrity, nor does he impeach his "honour by renouncing you; on the "contrary, he repairs by it a grievous fault, "already committed; and, forasmuch, as "he makes this reparation, by the authority "and dispensation of the Pope, it will be "for your mutual advantage to be released "one from the other; and, on this point, "Mademoiselle, I wait, if it please you, "your answer."

"What answer would you have from me, "M. de la Porte? And has he really had "the heart to write that letter?" Then, after shedding bitter tears, she resumed, "If it be the pleasure of M. de Montmo- "rency so to leave me, and to renounce all "the promises between us, I neither can nor "will interfere with his inclination so to do."

De la Porte replied, " M. de Montmo-
" rency renounces you for reasons that
" you must allow to be unanswerable;
" and I pray you, therefore, to tell me,
" whether you are, on your part, equally
" willing to release him."

" M. de la Porte, since it is the choice
" of M. de Montmorency to renounce me,
" I have not the power, nor even the will
" to prevent him, and his wishes shall
" henceforth be mine."

" Mademoiselle, M. de Montmorency
" renounces you, because, in making his
" former promise of marriage, he had
" justly incurred censure, and because the
" Pope, who is our superior, having dis-
" pensed with his vows, M. de Montmo-
" rency is restored to whatever liberty he
" enjoyed before he contracted them, and
" the Pope being our superior, cannot do
" wrong; therefore, M. de Montmorency
" entreats you to write as he has written,
" and to resume your liberty according to
" his example."

" M. de la Porte, since M. de Montmo-
" rency has really thought proper to re-
" nounce all the promises which have
" passed between us, though he were the
" son of a monarch, having written to me
" such a letter as that which I have just
" read, I would not be his wife; and, from
" my heart, and for ever, I do renounce
" him. At the same time, I can scarcely
" believe, he should have actually penned
" sentiments so different from all I have
" ever before received."

" Mademoiselle, I solemnly assure you,
" I saw that letter written entirely by M.
" de Montmorency's own hand."

" Yes; but it is in a style far other than
" he has been accustomed to use towards
" me: and, now may I ask, whether you
" have more to require of me?"

De la Porte having replied in the negative, she took her leave with the following words: " M. de la Porte, I beseech you to
" offer my humble service to M. de Mont-

" morency, also to M. de Damville; and " though you have witnessed my tears, I " pray you, assure M. de Montmorency, " that they are not for any regret I suffer " in renouncing him, since he has thought " fit to write as I have now read; for, " against his own wishes, be assured, I " would not retain him."*

After the departure of M. de la Porte, Jane, who was still immured in her convent, remained in ignorance of the deception which had been practised upon her inexperience; the Pope having not only refused to grant the dispensation, which De la Porte pretended to have received, but, by referring the affair to the consideration of the consistorial court, excited the suspicion, that he meant totally to frustrate the application. Unprotected by her family, deserted by her friends, Jane had, unexpectedly, found in Paul the

* Copied from the original records by Laboureur, tome ii.

Fourth, and the Caraffas, sincere though selfish partizans, by whose artifices and intrigues, the king and his minister were so effectually counteracted, that the faithless Francis was finally recalled to France, without having achieved his purpose. In the meanwhile, Jane was wholly unconscious that her wrongs and sufferings were shared by her half brother, Admiral Bonivet, (one of the bravest men of his age,) the only individual who presumed, in her behalf, to confront the power, and insult the authority of Henry and Montmorency. No sooner had he heard of her arbitrary detention in the convent, than from a distant province he hastened to Paris, not merely to remonstrate as a man, but to interpose as a soldier: his generous interference served only to draw on himself the disgrace he wished to avert from Mademoiselle de Pienne. Despised and neglected, the mortification inflicted on his pride, conspired, with the injury he had previously sustained

by military service, to shorten his existence. But the death of Bonivet removed not the impediment to Montmorency's wishes; and, ultimately, the Pope and the Caraffas would have established, in defiance of opposition, the indissolubility of Mademoiselle de Pienne's engagement, had not the Constable, by a vigorous effort of authority, dexterously transferred the cause from ecclesiastical to civil jurisdiction, by causing an edict to be registered in the parliament *: ostensibly to

* From Pasquier's Letters it appears, that the edict, though hailed with rapture by the heads of noble houses, was strongly disapproved by civilians and scholars, who had no personal interest to promote. Pasquier himself reprobates the injustice of permitting the father, for such a cause, to deprive an imprudent child of his inheritance. Many important consequences resulted from this law, which was gradually extended to other classes of the community; and, probably, in some degree, contributed to the demoralization subsequently introduced in France. In the *Causes Celebres* will be found many examples of flagrant injustice, founded on the prerogatives given to the heads of families by the edict to prevent misalliance, which, though originally framed for the benefit of noble families, was soon applied to the inferior classes of

check the frequency of clandestine engagements, but of which, the real and immediate object was, unquestionably, to oppose an insuperable barrier between Jane Halluin and Francis Montmorency. Under the pretext of preventing misalliances in noble families, children were forbidden to marry

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society. In the *Journal du Regne du Roy, Hen.* 3., is mentioned an instance in which a young man named Tonart, having contracted a private marriage with the daughter of a parliamentary president, in whose family he had lived as domestic secretary, was prosecuted for seduction, and actually convicted of that crime, of which the penalty was death. At the place of execution he was rescued by the indignant populace, and finally obtained his pardon. In his vindication it was alleged, that he had been married to the girl, to whose imputed dishonour his life was to be forfeited; that the parents had no right to withhold consent on the plea of mis-alliance, since the father of the young man could purchase him an *etat*, and the mother of the girl was merely the daughter of a petty tradesman, and her father sprung from a clerk of the Chatelet. Although these reasons ultimately prevailed, the King and parliament resented the seditious spirit manifested in the rescue, and one of the persons concerned in it was condemned and executed.

without the consent of their father and mother; and it was even permitted to the parents, to deprive of their natural inheritance, those who should be guilty of disobedience. In addition to these two prohibitory clauses, was added another, by virtue of which the law required a retroactive operation, obviously adapted to existing circumstances in the Constable's family. By this not only were clandestine engagements forbidden, but unauthorized marriages declared null and void, unless the son should have completed his thirtieth, and the daughter attained her five and twentieth year.

Armed with this edict, the Constable smiled at the fulminations of his papal adversary; and the nuptials of Francis and the Duchess de Castro, whose inclinations appear not to have been ever consulted, were solemnized with the utmost magnificence. Jane Halluin returned to court, and was restored to royal favour; when, ac-

cording to the rules of romance, she should have died, or dedicated herself to heaven; but her unmerited imprisonment had been ill calculated to inspire a taste for conventual life. Her youth and vigorous constitution resisted the slow but insidious effects of disappointment, so often fatal to her sex; even indignation might perhaps in part preserve her from a broken heart. This at least is certain, that she once more shone in the brilliant circles of the court, and that either pride or prudence taught her not only to meet with indifference the lover by whom she had been forsaken, but to receive with complacency the attentions of his royal bride, who, disclaiming the littleness of jealousy, affected to cultivate her friendship. It will easily be conceived, that the position of Mademoiselle de Pienne was little enviable; but although she received many splendid offers, she rejected them with disdain, and long persisted in the magnanimous resolution she had formed

to accept no vows that were offered by a man of rank inferior to Francis Montmorency. At length, when many years had elapsed, and time, without diminishing her charms, had augmented the sensibilities of her character, she was, in a manner, surprised into an affection for Florimond Robertet, the Sieur d'Alluye, a junior secretary of state under Charles the Ninth. At the commencement of the acquaintance, Robertet obtained the mediation of the King of Navarre, and other Princes of the Blood, to recommend his suit; but their interference would have been little likely to avail with Jane Halluin, had she not found an advocate in her own heart, which powerfully seconded their representations, and finally triumphed over the prejudices of pride and distrust she had inevitably imbibed from experience. Of her married life we know nothing, but that she withdrew from the court and lived in retirement, where, if she realised not the

dreams of happiness, she at least enjoyed a tranquillity never tasted by her former lover, the proud, ambitious, enterprising Montmorency. Although it appears not that he regretted Jane Halluin, it is evident that, by the premature death of Henry the Second, he must have missed the advantages which he had anticipated from a royal alliance. During the civil wars he became embroiled with the court, and, but for the mediation of his consort with Charles the Ninth, might have perished on the scaffold. Nor were these his only sources of mortification. Proud of his birth and rank, he passionately desired to transmit his riches and acquired honours to posterity. But this ambition remained ungratified, no offspring blessed their union; and that some feelings of compunction mingled with his disappointment appears by his solicitude to obtain from Pope Pius the Ninth, a dispensation for his marriage with the Duchess, contracted in

contempt of papal authority, and to the prejudice of a prior engagement. Finally, he died in the prime of manhood, and was interred with royal magnificence like his father.

CHAPTER V.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE MARRIAGE OF MARY WITH THE DAUPHIN. — POPULARITY OF THE DUKE OF GUISE. — ARTIFICES OF CARDINAL LORRAIN. — DESCRIPTION OF THE NUPTIAL FESTIVITIES, TAKEN FROM AN OLD FRENCH CHRONICLE. — RAPID PROGRESS OF THE CALVINISTS. — THE ATTRACTION OF MAROT'S PSALMODY. — SKETCHES OF THE FEMALE CALVINISTIC LEADERS. — JANE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE. — THE DAME DE LA ROYE. — THE PRINCESS OF CONDE. — THE WIFE OF ADMIRAL COLIGNY. — MADAME D'ANDELOT. — MAGNANIMOUS TRAIT OF ANDELOT. — DISSENSIONS IN THE COURT. — DOMESTIC HABITS OF MARY AND FRANCIS. — HER ILL HEALTH. — HER ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF ENGLAND. — HER INQUIETUDE RESPECTING THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. — MARRIAGES OF ELIZABETH OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCESS MARGARET, WITH PHILIP OF SPAIN AND PHILIBERT OF SAVOY. — ANNE DU BOURG. — HIS TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION. — DESCRIPTION OF THE ROYAL NUPTIALS. — THE TOURNAMENT. — THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SECOND. — EXECUTION OF ANNE DU BOURG.

THE happiest period of Mary's life was unquestionably that in which she lived in com-

parative retirement, so completely engrossed by her various studies as scarcely to have leisure for the anticipations of future greatness; but with whatever satisfaction the young Princess might have prolonged this season of tranquillity, it was otherwise with her uncles, who were too well acquainted with the character of the King and his court not to distrust the sincerity of their professions, and too eager to secure their own aggrandizement, not to press for the completion of the engagement. As Mary was at this period scarcely fifteen and Francis some months younger, it was not difficult to suggest excuses for evading the requisition, and the Princes of Lorrain might have long continued to watch with anxiety the issue of the event, but for a miscalculation of their adversaries, which suddenly removed every obstacle to the accomplishment of their wishes.

In effecting the marriage of his son with Henry's legitimated daughter, the Consta-

ble hoped to fortify himself against their future encroachments, and, perhaps, eventually, to prevent the elevation of their niece to the throne of France; but, in this instance, fortune baffled his prudence, and crowned with success the temerity of his presumptuous rival, Charles of Lorrain.

The balance of power in Europe had long furnished politicians with a convenient pretext for invading its tranquillity; and as, by the marriage of Philip of Spain with Mary of England, this equilibrium was manifestly endangered, the Cardinal adroitly availed himself of that circumstance to negotiate a secret treaty between Henry and the Pope (Paul the Fourth), of which the ostensible pretext was the investiture of Milan to a son of France, and the possession of Naples the real object.

An expedition to Italy, under the auspices of the Duke of Guise, was the first consequence of this arrangement; a schism in the Cabinet followed. The Constable, sup-

ported by other military veterans, deprecated the war, objected to the plan of the campaign, and without inducing the King to recal the army, materially impeded its operations. We learn, however, by the following extract from Etienne Pasquier's Letters, that the enterprize was generally acceptable to the nobility, whilst wiser men detected in it the mundane spirit of Paul the Fourth, the ambitious views of Lorrain, and the fatal facility of their misguided sovereign; "I have a whimsical me-
"tamorphosis to announce to you," says Etienne Pasquier, (in one of his letters)*
"the Emperor Charles, whose life had
"been devoted to the profession of arms, is
"suddenly transformed into a Monk, whilst
"the Pope, who from his youth prac-
"tised the austerity of an anchoret, had
"no sooner received his beatification, than
"he all at once changed into a soldier:
"his first step was to create his nephew

* Letter to Fonsomme.

" Caraffa, Cardinal; his next to send
" him hither, not with St. Peter's keys to
" open the gates of Paradise, but with
" the sword of St. Paul, to wound and
" destroy. Monsieur de Guise is to go as
" Lieutenant-general on this expedition,
" and the flower of our nobility are to fol-
" low his standard. All are eager for the
" enterprize, with the exception of Mon-
" sieur le Connetable, who prophesies,
" that we shall go forth a la cavaliers,
" on horseback, only to return, like beg-
" gars, on foot. They laugh at his pre-
" dictions, which, after all, will perhaps be
" verified. What have we ever gained
" by the wars of Italy, but a grave for
" our armies? little good can be expected
" for Europe, when the Head of the
" Church, who should be the father of
" peace, becomes the first to stir up strife
" among Christian princes. Whenever
" the Church of Christ usurps the sword,

" off goes the bridle from the rebellious " necks of Schismatics and Heretics."

In another letter, he thus resumes the subject, " Did I not augur rightly? never " was prophecy more completely fulfilled " than mine. No sooner had Monsieur de " Guise passed the Alps, than just when he " looked for the smile of fortune, he per- " ceived that the Pope's zeal waxed cold, " mutual distrusts produced delays, delays " created doubts, you may guess the rest; " for nothing so completely disconcerts a " Frenchman, as a long-winded negotiation; " if you snatch from him the wreath of " victory when he fancies it is ready to come " within his grasp, you give a death-wound " to his energy and resolution." If Pasquier exulted in the truth of his predictions, he little suspected that the charge of temerity was soon to be transferred to the sagacious Montmorency, who, by an unfortunate attack on Douay, in Flanders, provoked a reprisal of hostilities from Spain,

and necessarily drew on his country, a declaration of war from Mary of England.*

To the first failure of Montmorency succeeded another, discreditable to himself, and in its consequences, calamitous to France — to her nobility — to all but the Princes of Guise, whom it lifted to the pinnacle of greatness.

At the memorable battle of St. Quentin, this veteran, with his brave nephew, Admiral Coligny, and the flower of the French army, were made prisoners, whilst the Duke of Guise, by being recalled to France,

* A harsh reception was given to the English Herald, Norris, not because he came to denounce war against the King of France, but, because he had assumed the disguise of a courier, and, by stealth, sought the Court at Rheims, before he formally announced the object of his mission. For this offence, he was at first menaced with imprisonment, but on being admitted to the King's presence, Henry exclaimed, "Herald, I pardon you as coming from a Lady, but "instantly depart." The Herald obeyed, but was overtaken by a messenger from the King, who presented him with a gold chain, valued at two hundred crowns.

not only escaped the mortification which probably awaited him in Italy, but saw himself invested with the supreme command, and hailed as the protector of his sovereign, and his country.

Although Montmorency kept his place in Henry's affections, he was compelled to cede to his rivals the guidance of his counsels, nor could he be unconscious that, by having induced his master to exclude from all share in the administration the Princes of Bourbon, he had himself contributed to give undue preponderance to the chiefs of Lorrain. At this moment, every thing conspired to the elevation of these ambitious brothers, of whom one was considered the guardian of the realm, and the other, as the protector of its religion from heretical innovations. The Duke of Guise had long been the idol of the nation, and on the discovery of an assembly of the Calvinists in the rue St. Jaques, all the Catholic parties rallied round Cardinal

Lorrain, the palladium of the orthodox faith. Whilst the influence of these powerful leaders excited a general sympathy in favour of the Princess, who had the honor of their alliance, to this prepossession were added the cogent arguments of state policy, suggesting the expediency of securing the cordial co-operation of the Scots, in prosecuting the war with England, which could only be effected by an immediate solemnization of the marriage. No sooner was this point decided in the cabinet, than the Dauphin Francis was, for the first time, publicly associated with his father as the partaker of his counsels. The occasion of this introduction was the assembling of a convention, to which Henry was pleased to give the name of states-general, but which instead of being preceded by provincial assemblies, was composed merely of the archbishops and bishops to represent the clergy, the senechals and baillies for the nobles, the mayors and

eschevins for the people, or tiers etat; in addition to these, and to concentrate in the assembly a larger fund of intellect, Henry convened the primary presidents of all the provincial parliaments, who were now, for the first time, detached from the tiers etat, and to whom, having conjoined with them his own counsellors, including the chancellor and other judicial officers, he assigned the name and dignity of a fourth estate.

The assembly having met in the great hall of the palace, and each estate chosen its orator, the King and Dauphin, accompanied by the Princes of the blood, entered and took their respective seats: when the former in few words announced, that the object of the convention was, to provide a fund for the exigencies of the state, and to correct the abuses which had been admitted to the administration. Then the Cardinal of Lorrain, who not only possessed the talent of eloquence, but appeared to study the profession of a rhetorician, descanted

during an hour in the King's praise, and finally offered on the part of the clergy to support him with *life and fortune.* The Duke of Nevers, the organ of the nobility, and whose disinterested patriotism and integrity merited public confidence, contented himself with offering, in the name of his order, to devote his possessions, to shed his blood, to sacrifice his life, to the interest of his country. Saint Andrè, the president of the parliament of Paris, who had been chosen orator of the parliamentary order, after having thanked the King for the honor conferred with this new function, applauded his resolution to reform errors and abuses; and finally, in the name of the *order of justice,* pledged *life* and *service.* The last who spoke was Andrew Guillard, Seigneur de Mortier, the representative of the people, who, after having adverted to the miserable state of the agriculturists and peasantry*,

* The Deputies of the Tiers Etat being required by Cardinal Lorrain to furnish a list of ten thousand persons capable of advancing each a thousand crowns,

concluded by declaring, that France, however extenuated by the contributions of preceding years, would even make a libation of its blood to defend her King, and contribute to the accomplishment of his designs, and in her name he offered *life* and *fortune*.* It is worthy of remark, that at a second meeting, the Cardinal of Lorrain, in the name of his order, presented as a free gift *a million of golden crowns*, which was a third part of the sum required by the state; the magnificence of this donation at once demonstrates the enormous power of the clergy, and reveals the secret motives which impelled kings and statesmen to support their authority. After the dissolution of this assembly, Francis accompanied

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declined the invidious task of imposing burthens on their fellow-citizens; and it was finally transferred to the minister. In contemplating this pleasing trait of old French probity and simplicity, it is impossible not to be struck with the enormous inconveniences resulting from the want of a representative system.

* Garnier, Histoire de France.

his father to Calais, a scene calculated to inspire him with sentiments of patriotic detestation for the name of England; and from thence returned to St. Germains to espouse Mary Stuart.

This Prince was not more unfitted for the pageantry of rank, by an unprepossessing exterior, than by native timidity, and the repelling shyness of his manners. With dispositions affectionate and mild, he was little alive to the pleasures of society; he dreaded its ridicule, and appears to have shrunk from the responsibility attached to his exalted station; but his real or apparent frigidity vanished in the presence of his intended bride, who alone had the power to excite his dormant energies, to engage his sympathies, and to call forth his affections. *

Charmed with her beauty, her graces, her affability, he already evinced for her a deference and admiration, from which her

* Garnier. — Père Daniel. — Varillas. — Du Thou.

uncles drew an auspicious presage of her future dominion. Of Mary's sentiments it is more difficult to judge; accustomed from infancy to regard the Dauphin as her future husband, she could neither be shocked by the homeliness of his features, nor disappointed at his deficiencies in those athletic exercises which imparted a martial air to other youths of the same age. Although the inferiority of his understanding was strikingly contrasted with her brilliant powers, he was not without capacities for improvement; and if his preceptor had failed to inspire in him the love of learning, he had at least acquired no relish for dissipation, was addicted to no vice, susceptible of domestic sympathies, and already attached to Mary with a devoted fondness, flattering to her ambition, if not acceptable to her heart. But whatever might have been her repugnance to the marriage, she had been too long trained in habits of obedience to her uncles, not to yield

implicitly to their authority. An instance of this had just occurred, which proves that however she might glory in her descent from a hundred kings, she was insensible to the honor and dignity of her nation, and like her mother, ready to sacrifice for the house of Guise its prosperity and independence. A deputation of the nobility and clergy of Scotland having arrived at Paris, in order to witness the marriage of their Sovereign, the King and the Cardinal of Lorrain demanded of them the crown-matrimonial, by which Francis during life was to be recognized as King of Scotland. The deputies, of whom some were attached to the Reformation, alleged, that they were not authorized to comply with this requisition, of which they probably suspected the latent motive.

To soften the King's disappointment, Mary was instructed to make her will, by which in the event of her dying without issue, she bequeathed to the Dauphin and

the King of France, the absolute reversion of her kingdom, as if it had been a private possession*; such were the political principles instilled into her mind, and such the artifices by which she was alienated from her native country.

Having consummated this act of political treachery, the Cardinal and the King appear to have thought only of winning the affections of the Parisians; for that purpose Henry graciously invited himself to sup at the Hotel de Ville, with the mayor and burgesses of the city.† At this enter-

* Keith. — Pére Daniel.

† The history of the banquet affords an amusing picture of the manners of the people. Flattered with this mark of royal condescension, the mayor and burgesses invited only twenty-five of their wives and daughters to join the party; and that nothing might be wanting to the evening, engaged the poet Etienne Jodelle to represent before them, with a suitable accompaniment of scenic decorations, his opera of Orpheus. The sons of the principal citizens were to officiate as servitors, the floors were strewed with rushes, the wainscot festooned with ivy and garlands, the walls hung with tapestry, on which were embossed the cyphers of the King, the Queen, the Dauphin, Madame

tainment Mary Stuart was not present, probably because she could only command

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Marguerite, Cardinal Lorrain, the Duke of Guise, and, whether as favourite of the King or protectress of the church, the Duchess Valentinois; with ingenious devices in prose and verse, alluding to the late capture of Calais. Unfortunately, says the chronicler, torrents of rain compelled the royal party to take shelter in a vile machine called a coach, whose grotesque appearance spoiled the grace of the procession. No sooner had the King alighted, than the horses, affrighted by a discharge of artillery announcing the event, broke from their traces, leaving the equipage completely demolished. When the royal party entered the hall, they found it already nearly filled with persons admitted by private favour; and in the sequel, the twenty-five Bourgeoises were pushed to the upper seats, to the great displeasure of certain dames of quality. Confusion and discontent prevailed during the repast. Many left the table with hunger unsated, or consumed with thirst, whilst viands and wine passed before the eye without reaching the lips. Even the operatic attraction failed; the principal performer having a cold, coughed so loud that he was soon silenced for the dancers, who, finding themselves incommoded by the crowd, retreated; the party broke up, the hall was deserted, the municipality quarrelled with Jodelle, and the name of Orpheus became associated with discord rather than harmony. — *Felibien's Histoire de Paris.*

an equivocal rank, till she should have been formally betrothed to the Dauphin. The preparations for the espousals continued with unremitted diligence; and the Duke of Guise, who, by the capture of Calais, had gratified the pride, and by his generous surrender of its spoils, had won the hearts of the French nation, arrived in Paris, purposely to discharge the functions of great master of the King's household, in place of the unfortunate Constable.

The native gallantry of Henry's temper seconded the ostentatious vanity of the Guises to exalt the dignity of his daughter-in-law, and even Catherine, suppressing her jealousy of the bride, and her repugnance to the alliance, exerted all her taste and fancy to invest the scene, not merely with pomp but elegance and beauty. On an occasion so momentous as the marriage of the Heir Apparent, it became the part of every nobleman or knight to render personal attendance; and so little were the Princes of

the Blood exempted from the duty, that both the King and Queen of Navarre repaired to Paris expressly to be present at the ceremony. A keen competition in finery was exhibited by princes, princesses, lords and ladies; and, according to a contemporary chronicler*, who witnessed the scene he describes, "for several preceding days all the shops, warehouses, jewellers, embroiderers, and taylors of Paris were in unceasing requisition. Within the palace was heard the clamour of workmen constructing theatres for the approaching carousal; nor was there belle or wit, artisan or artist, but by hint, experiment, or invention, had lent some aid to the spectacle."

On the 19th of April, 1558, the ceremony of betrothment was celebrated with decorous privacy in the great hall of the

* Discours du grand et Magnifique Triomphe, fait au Mariage du plus, grand et Magnifique Prince François.

Louvre. The young couple, conducted by the Kings of France and Navarre, plighted their faith in the presence of the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the ceremony concluded with a ball, which at that time formed almost an essential part of every royal solemnity. The decorums of birth and station were however scrupulously observed, since the members of the royal family invariably danced together. The King took out his daughter-in-law, the King of Navarre led Catherine, the Dauphin his aunt Madame Marguerite, and the young Duke of Lorrain his affianced bride Claude*, a child scarcely twelve years of age. During these innocent festivities, the workmen exerted all their zeal and diligence in constructing a superb amphitheatre in the area before the church of Notre Dame, which communicated by a covered gallery with the Bishop's palace,

* Claude, the second daughter of Henry the Second, who had for her sponsors the thirteen Cantons of Switzerland. She died at an early age, leaving an amiable and unblemished character.

and was continued by the great door, and from thence, in the form of an arch, to the choir of the church, opening a complete vista to the spectators. This gallery was hung with purple velvet, " embossed and orna- " mented with such skill and care, that it " is believed every workman in Paris must " have assisted in the process."

At the betrothment a select party only had been present; but on Sunday the 24th of April, which was fixed for the solemnization of the nuptials, all Paris shone. With the jubilee, in the dawn of day, commenced the festivities, or, as they were called, in honor of the marriage, The Triumph. At the entrance of Notre Dame, was erected a royal canopy, covered with the fleurs de lys as symbolic of the reverence offered to God, and the sacrament of marriage. Around this standard of royalty stood the Pope's legate, the archbishops, and principal prelates, all invested with pontifical robes. From ten to eleven collected

the various military bands, among whom were, the Swiss, carrying their halberts, preceded by tabors and fifes, which, during a quarter of an hour, poured forth their simple melody. After these, came the Duke of Guise, as grand master of the King's household, who having with his accustomed dignity saluted the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Eustathius du Bellay, and the Princes of the Blood, turned towards the assembled crowd, and perceiving that they were impeded in their view, waved his hand, and signified to the grandees that they should retire, whilst he himself marshalled the procession, which was heralded by music. The performers wore an uniform of yellow and red, but endless was the variety of their harmonious strains, in which the trumpet and the lute, the bass-viol, and flageolet, the violin, and hautboy, all intermingled in harmonious concert; immediately after, followed the two hundred gentlemen attached to the King's person; next, the Princes of the Blood, with

their immediate attendants; bishops and abbots, before whom were borne their crosiers and mitres, the ensigns of their dignity; a cluster of high capped Cardinals, among whom were conspicuous, John of Bourbon, Charles of Lorrain, and John of Guise; lastly, came the Pope's Legate, before whom was borne a cross of massive gold; after these, marched the Dauphin Francis, conducted by the King of Navarre. If his feeble and ill-proportioned figure was painfully contrasted with the tall martial form of Anthony of Bourbon, this impression was somewhat relieved by the presence of his two younger brothers, the Dukes of Orleans and Angouleme; far different was the emotion produced by the appearance of his fair bride, affectionately supported by her father-in-law the King of France, and who was also attended by her youthful kinsman, the Duke of Lorrain; though she had but just entered her sixteenth year, her stature rose considerably

above the female standard; but so perfect was the symmetry of her form, and so graceful were her movements, that even this lofty height but gave to her person an air of mingled dignity and elegance, that added to her attractions; on this day, Brantome describes her, as, "More beauteous and "charming than a celestial goddess, for "as every eye dwelt with rapture on "her face, every voice echoed her praise; "whilst, universally, in the court and city "it was re-echoed, Happy, thrice happy, "the Prince who should call her his, even "though she should have had neither "crown nor sceptre to bestow!" Unlike Brantome, the frigid chronicler, instead of expatiating on Mary's charms, descants with much energy, on her superb attire, "The robe, white as the lily, with which "it was embroidered, but so prodigally rich "and gorgeous, glittering with diamonds "and silver, as to be *too dazzling* for "words to describe." Her sweeping train was borne by two young girls, whom grace

and beauty fitted for the office; her neck was encircled with a diamond carcanet, from which was suspended a ring of inestimable value; on her head, she wore a golden coronet, encircled with precious stones, in which the diamond, the ruby, and the emerald contended for magnificence. In the centre of the coronet shone a carbuncle valued at five hundred crowns: although it was impossible but that such habiliments should have attracted the vulgar eye, we may be permitted to suspect, that they rather disguised, than embellished a youthful beauty, and it is no equivocal proof of Mary's superior grace, that under all this pomp and state, she preserved her ordinary self-possession and unembarrassed movements; behind the young Queen (not without secret envy), walked Catherine de Medicis, with the Prince de Condé; after whom, followed in due gradation, Madame Marguerite, the Queen of Navarre, and an almost interminable train of ladies. When

the procession had reached the great door of the church, the King drew from his finger a ring which he gave to the Archbishop of Rouen, who, having placed it on the young Queen's finger, pronounced the nuptial benediction; mutual congratulations followed, when Mary gracefully saluted her husband by the title of King of Scots. The Scottish deputies, whom the chronicler does not once deign to mention, followed her example; after which, the Archbishop of Paris delivered a suitable discourse, which, probably, extorted not much attention. In the meantime, the Duke of Guise had succeeded in his efforts to induce the nobles to open a vista to the people who stood clustering in the streets, at the windows, on turrets, and scaffoldings, to catch a glimpse of the spectacle; but all his vigilance and activity were unequal to the task of preserving order, when, according to custom, the heralds, having proclaimed largess, in the name of the King and Queen of Scots,

began to shower money on the people; " then might you have witnessed *the tumult* " *and confusion* of the multitude; some, in " their avidity, precipitating themselves on " their companions, others fainting, whilst " many were stript of hats, cloaks, or even " skirts; so terrible was the conflict, that " at length even the populace in dismay " unutterable, implored the heralds to de- " sist from throwing among them the golden " bait of discord." Whilst curiosity was thus diverted from the principal objects of the spectacle, the bridal procession advanced to the choir beneath the royal canopy, where mass was celebrated, and the young couple having made their appropriate offering, largess was again proclaimed and distributed, but without again occasioning disorder. These solemnities being ended, the procession prepared to return in the order in which it came, when King Henry, aware how many of the people must have missed seeing the ceremony, insisted that

the whole company should march round the platform, and by this seasonable courtesy, probably reconciled the citizens to the imposition of additional burthens. Having returned to the bishop's palace, the royal party partook of a magnificent collation, (produced under the superintendence of the Duke of Guise;) whilst Henry, with becoming gallantry, ordered his knights to suspend the crown-royal over the head of the Queen Dauphin. To the dinner, as usual, succeeded the ball, to which nothing could seem more unsuitable, than the cumbrous magnificence of the royal costume; but no dance was attempted that required more elasticity than the stately minuet, or Passamento del Espagne; and at five o'clock, the royal family returned to the palace of the Tournelles, by the Rue Saint Christophe, amidst the greetings of myriads of spectators. The two Queens of France sat in the same litter, a cardinal walking on either side; the King, and his son, the

Dauphin, followed on horseback, as did the Princesses and ladies, who, not without difficulty, made their way through the crowded streets. Having attended his company to the palace, the chronicler, breaking into a strain of rapture that reminds us of Hall, or Hollinshed, describes the palace which was prepared for their reception, as a place "light and beautiful as Elysium. The "King and royal family took their places "round the marble table, to sup in solemn "state, and during the repast were regaled "with music. The King's band of a hun-"dred gentlemen paraded the hall. The "members of the parliament attended in "their magisterial robes, the Princes of the "blood were the servitors, the Duke of "Guise still presiding over all the arrange-"ments. Supper being at length over, the "ceremonial closed, and the ladies, exhila-"rated by the perspective of what was "about to be presented, gave signs of "peculiar animation and delight; so

" that," says the Chronicler, " you might " see them almost dance and jump for " joy." Nor were these anticipations disappointed; a series of masques and mummeries having been prepared for the occasion, of which the magnificence baffled description. Among the most attractive objects of the pageant are noticed twelve artificial horses, covered with cloth of gold, of which the mechanism was so admirable, as to produce an exact imitation of living motion. The attraction of these pretty toys was enhanced by the good mien of the children, (among whom were the sons of the Dukes d'Aumale and Guise,) who rode on their backs, to the infinite delight of the fond mothers, by whom the achievement was witnessed. After these, came a company of pilgrims, supposed to be destined for a tournament, each of whom recited an appropriate poem, from the elegant pen of Joachim du Bellay. These recitations having lasted long enough to give time for

criticism and praise, another masque was produced, which indicated the advances of scenical machinery. Six small gallies entered the hall, covered, like Cleopatra's barge, with cloth of gold and crimson velvet; so skilfully contrived as to appear to glide through the waves, sometimes rolling, sometimes tacking, then veering, as if agitated by a sudden swell of the tide, till the delicate silver sails were cracked asunder. On each deck appeared two seats and one cavalier; and as the little navy advanced along the theatre, each of these pretended corsairs springing to land, seized on some fair lady, and bore her, as by force, to the vacant chair already prepared for her reception. The first of these piratical adventurers was the young Duke of Lorrain, who carried off his affianced consort, Claude of France. The second was the King of Navarre, who once again, as in his youthful days, shewed gallantry to his Queen Jane. The third was the Duke of Nemours, who,

for want of a wife, very correctly captured his kinswoman, the Princess Margaret. With similar regard to decorum, the gay Prince of Condé seized on Madame de Guise. The Dauphin Francis shewed much alacrity in handing off his bride; and Henry himself dutifully elected Catherine instead of Diana to be his companion. Every cavalier being thus provided with a consort, each galley circumnavigated the hall, to the infinite delight of the spectators. Various mummeries followed, which, however puerile, certainly offered nothing offensive to propriety. But the triumph, as it was called, was repeated during many succeeding days; and the chronicler concludes with a pious prayer, *that it may please the King of kings* to preserve all these princes in *joy, prosperity, and love to the end; that the people may be by them well and happily governed.** All these solemnities terminated

* Taken from a Tract published in 1558, intitled, "Discours du grand et Magnifique Triomphe, fait au

in a tournament, at which, although the grace and elegance of the Queen Dauphin became the theme of every tongue, we hear not of any knights but those of the Dauphin's band, who presumed to wear her colors or challenge pre-eminence for her sovereign beauty. Her husband, Francis, was precluded by youth and debility from entering the field, and Mary, though affable and courteous, appears, like her aunt Anne of Este, to have maintained a strict reserve in her deportment to the other sex.

Of the complimentary poems written on her nuptials, it may be remarked that they all dilated on her talents and accomplishments; even Buchanan, in his elegant epithalamium, expatiated on her personal charms and mental endowments. When, in the

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" Mariage du plus haut, plus Magnifique Prince
" François de Valois, Roi-Dauphin, fils aisné du Roi
" Henri Deuxième du nom, et de très-haute et
" vertuese Princesse Madame Marie d'Estreuart,
" Royne d'Ecosse."

borrowed language of poetry, he says that her presence would have decided the choice of Paris, he adopts the common-place hyperbole of a poet. But when he describes the symmetry of her fine form, *the open brow on which honor* seemed enthroned*, the delightful smile that mantled her youthful cheeks, the mild lustre of her eyes; when he extols the sedateness of her character, the gravity which bespoke a prudence beyond her years; above all, when he dwells on that feminine softness more fascinating than any perfection of symmetry or complexion, Buchanan evidently pourtrays the individual with such liveliness and felicity of discrimination, as could only be derived from the living impressions of the moment.

Oh, blessed by fate, in happiest æra born,
And join'd by bonds with young affection worn,
While a pleas'd world the union proud approves,
And hopes and wishes, for the pair it loves;

* Fortunati ambo, et felice tempore nati.

That no dread grief their opening joy may shade,
Nor latest years behold its brightness fade;
And if not vainly in my bosom glows
Prophetic thought that Phœbus' self bestows,
No coming day with envious gloom shall lour
O'er the young promise of a nuptial hour;
Where equal race, and friendship's holy tie,
Seal the fond hope, the bliss that cannot die.
Then come, while omens bright, your presence greet,
A nation's love, a nation's prayer to meet.
To thee, brave youth, a royal kindred lent,
True to thy tender cause, the glad consent,
That dearly made a sister Queen thy wife,
The gentle partner of thy throne, and life.
While beauty, birth, and virtue, nobly fair,
And plighted faith, and mutual love were there.
For say, if met as once on Ida's height,
The assembled gods had held their awful state;
Heard thy young vow, and to thy prayer had given,
In wedded love, the choicest boon of heaven.
What brighter form could meet thy ravish'd sight,
Or fill thy bosom with its pure delight;
On her fair brow a regal grace she wears,
While youth's own lustre on her cheek appears;
And soft the rays from those bright eyes that gleam,
Whose temper'd light and chasten'd radiance seem,
As thought mature had given the beams of truth,
Gently to mingle with the fire of youth.
Or if thou sought a long and ancient line
Of great and royal sires to link with thine;

Her's the proud boast, that her unshaken throne
A hundred kings has borne — their lineage one.
Tho' fierce their neighb'ring foes, while years untold,
In passing lustres, o'er their courts have roll'd;
Yet no usurper there his home has made,
Nor foreign land the native sceptre sway'd.
Had hope of dower within thy thoughts a place?
Take her brave people — an unconquer'd race.
I will not tell of Scotia's fertile shores,
Or mountain tracts, that team with choicest ores,
Or living streams, from sources rich, that flow,
For other regions *nature's* bounties show;
(And thirst of wealth alone their souls employ,
Whose grov'lling spirits feel no loftier joy.)
But this her own, and this her proudest fame,
The strength, the virtue, of her sons to claim.
'Tis their's in early chace to rouse the wood,
And fearless their's to breast the foaming flood.
A land beloved to guard in many a field,
Their swords her bulwark, and their breasts her shield;
'Tis their's to prize pure fame, ev'n life above,
Firmly their faith to keep, their God to love.
And while stern war its banner wide unfurl'd,
Terror and change o'er half the nation's hurl'd;
This the proud charter that in ages gone,
Saved their lov'd freedom and its ancient throne. *

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* For the translated extract from this elegant poem, the Author is indebted to a young female friend, whose classical attainments form but the smallest part of her mental accomplishments.

At the period that Buchanan composed this poem, he was an indigent man of letters, who, after ample experience of human vicissitudes, was happy to embrace the patronage of Cardinal Lorrain. That he had tasted largely of the miseries incident to a literary life, appears from several of his minor poems, in which his powerful mind is seen struggling with the complicated evils of pride and poverty, of ambition and dependance. In the sequel, adversity seems to have destroyed all the affections of his heart, all the better and nobler feelings of his nature; but it left untouched his genius, and whether he wields his pen as the panegyrist, or the defamer of Mary Stuart, its energy and eloquence are alike felt, and almost equally irresistible. Buchanan was not the only poet who aspired to immortalize the youthful Queen of Scotland; though he only was capable of lending attraction to themes so trite, and often exhausted, as royal dignity

and female beauty. It may also be observed of Buchanan, that he writes on the subject with an enthusiasm of which, whether influenced by prejudice or policy, no Gallic bard appears to have been susceptible. Even Ronsard speaks with more complacency of Mary's illustrious birth and high connections, than of her youthful loveliness or mental superiority. Joachim du Bellay *, in his inscriptions on the various members of the royal family, contents him-

* The following Inscription was written by Joachim du Bellay for the Queen Dauphin:

Toi qui a vu l'excellence de celle,
Que rend le ciel sur l'Ecosse envieux,
D'y hardiment', contentez vous mes yeux,
Vous ne verrez jamais chose plus belle.
Celle qui est de celle île princesse,
Qu'au tems passè l'on nommoit Caledon,
Si en sa main elle avoit un brandon,
Ou la prendroit pour Venus la dresse,
Par une chaine à ses beaux yeux attachè.
Par une chaine à sa langue attachè,
Hercule à soi les peuples attiroit,
Mais celle ci tire ceux qu' elle voit
Par une chaine à ses beaux yeux attachè.

self with yielding to her the sceptre of beauty; and it appears to have been an impression pretty generally excited, that she aspired to the sovereignty she was destined to command; and was not only formed to grace, but impatient to ascend a throne.

During fifteen days the triumphs continued to be exhibited to the people, but at length the intoxication of joy subsided. The Duke of Guise returned to the camp to gather fresh laurels, by the capture of Ham and Theinville; the Cardinal accompanied the King, Queen, and court to Villars Cotterets; and of the innumerable multitudes so lately congregated from every part of France, there remained but a few Princes of the blood long excluded from the royal counsels, to whom this city, when deserted by its magnificent guests, presented objects of moral interest, that completely effaced the impression of all the brilliant pageantry they had lately witnessed.

A few months had scarcely elapsed since the memorable night in which the Calvinistic assembly in the rue St. Jaques was so rudely disturbed by the intrusion of the civil officers.* Many of the individuals criminally accused were still awaiting their fate in the prisons of the Conciergerie; others, among whom were ladies of distinguished rank, had been consigned to the female penitentiary. Undismayed by this rigour, the Calvinists not only held at Paris their first religious synod, but, with greater boldness, celebrated divine worship according to the ritual of Geneva, in a large house in the Pré aux Clercs†, then the fashionable walk of Paris. At this moment every friend of the reformation was become an object of suspicion to the state, of abhorrence to the church, of obloquy and outrage to the populace. To coalesce with such was to incur the imputation of disloyalty or sedi-

* Alluded to by Pasquier, in his Letters.

† Faubourg St. Germains.

tion; to defend them was to provoke contempt and disgrace; to cultivate with them the relations of friendship was to court the rigours of ecclesiastical persecution, which, by the late registration of the edict establishing the Inquisition, were more than ever formidable and appalling. To the female sex, the name of reformer communicated a stigma injurious to modesty and reputation, since calumnies were industriously circulated respecting the pretended profligacy of those sectaries whose austere manners in the next age became the theme of derision and reproach. Under such circumstances it might appear strange that any individuals having either character or property to preserve, should venture to approach the precincts of Le Pré aux Clercs. But independent of that well known principle in the human mind, in which, to a certain point, the consciousness of danger exercises a species of romantic attraction, the Calvinistic congregation in-

vited curiosity and sympathy by the vocal melodies that formed part of their worship, a psalmody singularly contrasted with their primitive austerity, into which had been introduced popular and even amatory airs, and equally calculated to gratify the ear and delight the imagination.* To this powerful charm was added the novelty of five thousand voices mingling in the choral swell, and, by a sort of electric impulse, communicating to every breast a simultaneous impression of energy and enthusiasm. Abstracted from their psalmody, the Calvinists in their devotional exercises admitted nothing that could impress the senses; all was spiritual and intellectual. Yet to those who were not shocked by the severity that banished the decorations and abjured the ceremonies of the antient worship, and who could be reconciled to the absence of the splendid altar and its voluptuous incense, there was, in

* One of these Psalms was adapted to the air of "Petili Camusetti."

the bare benches and naked walls of their sanctuary, something that, by excluding whatever could arrest or entrammel the imagination, seemed congenial to the aspirations of a really devout and elevated mind, and that inspired a sacred consciousness of the Divine presence. In reality, the same circumstances which originally created repugnance to this sect, when the first prejudice was overcome, appear to have rivetted the affections of its disciples. To the eye of faith, the rude simplicity of the shrine accorded with the conception of an invisible eternal deity, of whom the universe alone could be the temple. The terrors which invested this communion formed for all who approached its precincts, an alliance of hopes and fears, a solemn bond of peril and probation not less sacred than the ties of blood, and imperative as the voice of nature.

Among those who visited the Pré aux Clercs were the King and Queen of Na-

varre, Madame de la Roye, her daughter the Princess of Condé, and several other persons of distinction. The sight of five thousand Calvinists, unarmed and unprotected, with magnanimous meekness braving persecution, was calculated to produce on every generous mind an emotion by which a simple prepossession was quickly exalted into an enthusiastic attachment. The Queen of Navarre was already devoted to the cause, and the high-spirited sister of the Colignys, Magdalen de Mailly, dame de la Roye, had long since imbibed similar sentiments, which she carefully instilled into the minds of her children. Deprived of her husband in the flower of her days, possessing wealth, beauty, talent, and whatever could command the admiration of the other sex, this lady rigidly adhered to her resolution never to contract a second marriage, and devoted the best years of life to the care of educating her two daughters, and to the due performance of her do-

mestic duties. Residing in Picardy, she established and preserved in her immense chateau, industry, order, and decorum; and, like Magdalen of Savoy, dedicated a large part of her revenue to objects of charity. But it was her principal aim to provide for the moral and religious instruction of her domestics and vassals; and so nobly were her labours recompensed, that the name of Madame de la Roye* conveyed an admonition to virtue, and her example alone was believed to have drawn more proselytes to Calvin than the most celebrated preacher had attracted by argument and eloquence. At what period Madame de la Roye embraced the Reformation is uncertain; her internal convictions came slowly, but with proportioned energy of sentiment and steadiness of conduct. Assimi-

* See the character of this lady, in Varilla's Histoire des Revolutions qui aut arrivé dans la Religion, book xxi. Also, Laboureur's Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, neither of whom can be suspected of partiality to a Calvinist.

lating rather with her elder brother, the Admiral, than with the impetuous Andelot, she possessed a self-command which in every situation secured to her the privilege of concealing her sentiments. But with her this prudence, so often the concomitant of artifice and dissimulation, was united to inflexible integrity and magnanimity, and, having once avowed her religious opinions, she adhered to them with a firmness and sincerity of which history supplies few examples. Not satisfied with having fostered in her daughters the same principles, she determined that the partners of their future days should at least be imbued with the spirit of Protestantism, at that time allied to all generous and noble sentiments. In giving Frances de la Roye to the Count de Rochefoucault, she secured to herself a friend, and to her daughter an honourable and noble-minded protector. But in uniting the elder sister, Eleanor, to Louis, Prince of Condé, she hoped to raise a champion

for the oppressed Calvinists, worthy to vindicate their rights, and able to redress their injuries. In this young prince, apparently devoted to gaiety and pleasure, the penetrating eye of Madame de la Roye detected the elements of the statesman and the hero; and whilst she seized every occasion to impress his mind with sentiments of commiseration for the suffering non-conformists, she forgot not to excite in his breast a generous ambition to signalize his courage and exert his prudence against their oppressors. In the former part of her task she was powerfully seconded by his wife, the celebrated Princess of Condé*, whom the Calvinists of her age have fondly designated as the *pearl of princesses*, and whose captivating character supplies one of those rare examples in which history seems to have caught the inspirations of poetry, and experience to have realized the vision of ro-

* Born at Chatillon sur Loire, 1535; married to Louis of Bourbon in 1551; died at the Chateau de Condé en Brie, 1564. — LABOUREUR.

mance. It is not often that the prosperous sympathise deeply with the unfortunate. To have tasted of the same bitter cup is in general necessary to a strict communion of interest or feeling, and never, but in the most gentle and generous bosoms, is an active sentiment of humanity awakened without the agency of kindred sufferings, or the contemplation of afflictive calamities. Eleanor de la Roye was in the number of those privileged beings, who, by the munificence of nature and fortune, should seem to have been exempted from the ordinary pains and privations attached to human destiny.

In the bosom of domestic felicity, encircled and protected by the dear and sacred affinities of blood and friendship, possessing in youth, beauty, rank, and talent, all that delights or intoxicates the soul of woman, living in the constant reciprocation of those tender charities which redouble the faculties of existence, happy in the filial and maternal relations, blest

with the affections of the husband whom she adored; amidst all these luxurious sources of enjoyment, the Princess of Condé was touched with the miseries of an oppressed sect, and earnestly interceded with her beloved consort to stand forth as its advocate and protector. In part, she succeeded. Louis beheld, with indignation, the system of intolerance established by the princes of Lorrain; but it was a political, rather than a religious sympathy that he experienced for the Calvinists. Enslaved by the prejudices of rank and education, he imbibed not the patriotism of the Colignys, and appears to have been more anxious to reclaim the full privileges of a prince of the blood, of which, he conceived himself to have been unjustly deprived, than to secure to France the possession of civil and religious liberty.

In the society of his wife, and her heroic mother, a purer spirit than ambition seemed to direct and animate his conduct,

and the Princess might, perhaps, indulge the belief that he was, eventually, to gratify the pride and enthusiasm of her affection, not only as the most fortunate, but the most generous of heroes. In the Queen of Navarre, Calvinism had an ardent and impetuous defender; the attachment of Madame de la Roye was founded on that strongest passion of upright magnanimous minds, the sense of rectitude and justice; but love and pity conspired to form a heroine in the Princess of Condé. There were two other ladies equally devoted to the cause of religious liberty, the wives of Andelot and Coligny; the former, the heiress of the house of Laval, had brought to Andelot a princely fortune, which they mutually employed in acts of usefulness and beneficence; and, as they sympathized in their attachment to the reformation, they co-operated in planting churches in Brittany, protecting the ministers, and disseminating the principles of Calvinism. Madame Co-

ligny was also of the house of Laval, and equally respected by her heroic lord; but though secretly devoted to the interests of religious liberty, he still continued to go to mass, and carefully abstained from an open declaration of his principles, believing that he should better serve the cause by disguising than avowing his convictions. Hitherto the demeanor of the Calvinists had been pacific and conciliatory; their tenets were, in general, confined to minds more cultivated, a circumstance that explains their superiority over the reformers of other countries; but a crisis was now approaching in which other qualities than passive submission would probably be called forth. The edict for establishing the supremacy of ecclesiastical tribunals had been registered, however reluctantly, by the parliament*, and it was a

* By the strenuous efforts of Harlai, Seguier, and Du Thou, a clause was inserted, authorizing the laity to appeal from ecclesiastical courts to the parliament.

melancholy presage of the late royal marriage, that the holy office had been introduced under its auspices, and that with the hymeneal torch was lighted the flame of persecution.

During these religious commotions in Paris, the court was internally as little tranquil. The King continued to sigh for the presence of his antient friend, and often, in unguarded moments, betrayed his readiness to sacrifice all political calculations to be restored to society. Yet with singular inconsistency, whilst he reposed in Montmorency his unlimited confidence, he ventured not openly to protect him from the machinations of his enemies. The character of this Prince affords a strong illustration of the remark, how little it is within the scope of extrinsic circumstances to remove the original defects of nature. To the feeble mind of Henry, the possession of a regal sceptre had failed to impart habits of decision or energy, and the sovereign to

whom Europe attributed unlimited authority, submitted to artifices and disguises that would have disgraced the meanest slave. From motives and feelings far different, Catherine de Medicis, on this occasion, sympathized in his discontent, not that she loved the Constable, but that she detested his opponents, the Princes of Lorrain; and as she had formerly resented their obsequious devotion to Diana de Poictiers, she now contemplated with envy and suspicion the future rival to her power whom they had fostered in Mary Stuart; nor was the bride of Francis long permitted to remain in ignorance of the sentiments she had inspired in her step-mother, who, however skilful in dissimulation, was equally adroit in discovering or inventing occasions to inflict mortification on the objects of her displeasure. The position of the Queen Dauphin was such as left no means of eluding this petty vengeance, and she was soon taught, by experience, that the splendid

marriage she had contracted, was rather calculated to abridge her liberty than to extend her sphere of enjoyment. In Francis, she had indeed an ardent lover and a faithful friend, but she found in him no companion, and it was only in their devotional habits and religious opinions that they cordially sympathized. Young as she was, she had learnt to know that to conform to his tastes and wishes was equally her interest and her duty; and since she could not hope to impart to her juvenile consort her own avidity for knowledge, or her capacity for intellectual enjoyment, she made a judicious effort to partake in his favourite amusements of riding and hunting, which hitherto she had never relished, and for which the delicacy of her constitution seemed unfitted; but, perhaps, the most onerous of all her new duties was the deference tacitly exacted by Catherine de Medicis, in whom she recognized a jealous, if not a treacherous spy on all her looks, words, and

movements; thus the first fruits of her marriage were constraint and subjection, and as the reigning monarch was still in the summer of his days, she saw before her a long and almost interminable probation. A state such as this was little suited to the high-spirited daughter of James the Fifth. For her uncle, the Cardinal, who, by the absence of Montmorency, engrossed the supreme authority, it might have been supposed that fortune had reserved the higher gratifications of ambition, unalloyed with envy, undisturbed by regret. But it was not enough for this intriguing prelate that he saw his niece united to the Dauphin; and his nephew, the Duke of Lorrain, contracted to the sister of the future monarch of France. So long as either friend or partizan should remain to the Constable, he believed his own power to rest on a precarious foundation; and as he despaired of displacing the favourite in the affections of his sovereign, he art-

fully attacked his dignity in the person of his nephew, the brave Andelot, by preferring against him a charge unhappily but too well authenticated, that he neglected to attend mass, that he spoke irreverently of the Pope, and disseminated among his troops the poison of heresy, which at court was synonimous with sedition. Few things could have been less acceptable to Henry than an accusation of such a nature against an officer he sincerely loved; yet, with his accustomed duplicity, he praised the Cardinal's zeal, but apprized Andelot of his malice, and intimated that he should expect him to repel the insinuation. Nor was his first expectation deceived; Andelot repaired to Monceaux, where Henry kept his court, and was welcomed with the most affectionate cordiality. At dinner, the King took occasion to introduce the subject of religion, protesting that he gave no credit to the statement he had received, and that he simply required him to disclaim the imputation. Andelot commenced his reply with,

"my life belongs to my King;" the monarch smiled with complacency; the officer added, "my conscience belongs to God; and since "your Majesty challenges my real senti- "ments, I dare not disavow, that I con- "sider the elevation of the Host as an im- "pious idolatry."* For a moment, astonishment held the sovereign mute; to this, succeeded a paroxysm of rage, and after having hurled at the culprit, a plate, which struck the Dauphin Francis, he ordered Andelot to be arrested, and committed to the custody of the Bishop of Meaux; but no sooner had this ebullition of rage subsided, than, anxious to protect the nephew of Montmorency, he caused him to be transferred from ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the castle of Melun, where, through the medium of his friends, he incessantly importuned him to retract his error, or at least by some trivial concession, to procure his restoration to liberty. To the chivalrous Andelot, who

* Pére Daniel. — Garnier, Histoire de France. — Laboureur.

held his honour dearer than his life, these solicitations were long addressed in vain; but the inflexible resolution, that withstood the prayers of his affectionate uncle, and the tears of a beloved wife, yielded to the arguments of Admiral Coligny, who silenced his scruples, by insisting on the duty of preserving that life which might hereafter be consecrated to the interests of his religion, and the salvation of his country. Convinced, though not reconciled, Andelot, for once, endured the ceremony of the mass; but never ceased to consider as unworthy of himself, the submission to which he owed his deliverance.* During this transaction, Henry, more eager to console Montmorency

* The liberation of Andelot was highly displeasing to the Pope, (Paul the Fourth,) who, on the first intimation of his arrest, shed tears of joy; but wondered why Cardinal Lorrain, who was vested with inquisitorial power, did not strangle him on the spot. The Cardinal endeavoured to appease the pontiff, by lamenting that justice proceeded by *slow and cautious steps in France.* — Pére Daniel. — Garnier, Histoire de France, tome xiii. — Brantome.

for his nephew's mortification, than to co-operate with Cardinal Lorrain in accomplishing his conversion, addressed to him several letters, from which, it appears, that the monarch condescended to perform the office of a spy on his own courtiers, and that his esteem and confidence were almost exclusively confined to the Constable and the Senechalle.*

* "To Anne Montmorency.

"I conjure you, my best friend, to believe that I "have never known happiness since I saw you, nor "ever shall again, till God permit me to see you once "more return in health and safety. I supplicate him "daily, that this may be granted according to "my desires, as doubtless it shall be, when it pleases "him: in the mean time, be assured, that death "alone shall divide me from you. I could indeed, "die content, if I might but obtain a good peace, "and the sight of that man whom I most love and es-"teem in the world; therefore doubt not but that your "ransom shall be obtained at any price, for I will "spare no expence to behold you again. You may "entrust the bearer with your dispatches, since he "has performed good offices on your account, and "has approved himself more devoted to your inte-"rests than certain persons suspected. I beseech

During the negotiations for peace, the Constable having obtained permission to leave his prison on parole, the King met him at the palace of Beauvais, with transports of joy, and that he might not lose one mo-

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" you to embrace the first opportunity to send an " answer, and be sure to seem perfectly satisfied with " those who are now at my right hand. I have good " reasons for making this request. Your wife is well, " so are all your children; the three eldest are all " with me; do not doubt of my supplying the father's " place in your absence. Our daughter is not preg- " nant as I had fancied. I should be unjust to Ma- " dame de Valentinois if I did not say how sincerely " she is your friend; your children will tell you so " some day, if it be the will of God. I shall not " venture to vouch for the rest of the court, lest I " should be guilty of falsehood; do not vex for any " thing; take care of your health, your friend's life " is bound up in yours. The bearer will impart to " you something of Andelot; let it not trouble you, " for all goes well. I shall write no more at present, " having so completely instructed the bearer, that he " will be able to reply to every question. May God " hear our mutual prayers.

" Your good friend, Henry."

From the MS. of Bethune, published in the Philologue of M. Gaill.

ment of the society he held so precious, never quitted him day or night, dined and supped with him alone, and even insisted on sharing his bed; at parting, Henry could not speak for tears, an emotion to which he afterwards alluded in the following words: — "My friend, this letter shall "perform the duty I had no power to fulfil "when we parted; my heart was then too full "for utterance; but I entreat you to believe "that you are the person I most love in this "world." It soon appeared that this celebrated conference referred not alone to political subjects, and that the two friends were at least equally engrossed by the establishment of Henry Damville, the second son of Montmorency, one of the rising heroes of the age, whose gallant deportment, and high military reputation, had made a deep impression on Antoinetta Mark, the heiress of the Duke de Bouillon, and grand-daughter of Diana de Poictiers. Although the cavalier appears to have entertained for this

young lady no warmer sentiment than esteem, he readily acquiesced in his father's wishes, and by the King's mediation, the marriage treaty was soon concluded. The treaty of peace was the next subject of interest; but at the moment when tranquillity was about to be restored to Europe, Cardinal Lorrain rekindled discord, by advancing the pretensions of his niece, as the great grand-daughter of Henry the Seventh, to the crown of England, in preference to those of Elizabeth, whose imputed illegitimacy and acknowledged heresy furnished arguments for her exclusion most satisfactory to Papal Rome and Catholic Europe; but the speculative claims of Mary, however plausible, availed little against Elizabeth's more substantial rights of possession; and in the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, she was formally recognized as the sovereign of England; yet, was this the moment chosen by the Cardinal, to invest his niece with the fictitious title of Queen of England,

to cause her to quarter its arms on those of France and Scotland, and openly to exhibit on her plate the impression of those armorial bearings! An unwarrantable assumption that might have been overlooked as an ebullition of puerile vanity, but for the notorious fact that Elizabeth was stigmatized as a pretender by Paul the Fourth, and that a confederacy of the Catholic potentates existed, of which the object was, to effect the extinction of heretical or liberal principles. From an incident that occurred at this period, it is evident that whilst the Cardinal grasped for his niece the English diadem, she was not without apprehensions that the sceptre of Scotland might be transferred to another possessor. At the period of Mary's arrival in France, her kinsman, the Master of Hamilton, since designated as the Earl of Arran, had been sent to the same country for education, trained to military service, and presented with a commission in the Scottish guards. Although it

had long been notorious that this nobleman was attached to Calvinistic principles, his loyalty was untainted, till he suddenly withdrew from France in a manner that excited suspicion of his intentions to join the congregational party in Scotland. Orders were immediately issued for pursuing and detaining him wherever he should be discovered; but the Earl, who had taken refuge at Geneva, remained in concealment, till, finally, through the agency of the English government, he found means to effect his escape, and return to Scotland in safety. During several months, the movements of a solitary fugitive engrossed the French cabinet. It will be recollected, that his father, the Duke of Chatelherault, disclaimed the errors of heresy, yet was it feared, that the example of his son, who, after Mary, was presumptive heir to the crown, might infuse new vigour into the Calvinists.

In reality, that sect had acquired incredible force from the new impulse which,

unhappily for his niece, the Cardinal had lately given to her mother's otherwise prudent administration; and at the moment when intolerance had provoked rebellion, the Queen-Dauphin, by displaying at his instigation, a fantastic symbol of arrogance, excited the jealousy of Elizabeth, confirmed the frantic suspicions of Arran, cemented the union between England and the Scottish reformers, and furnished not only the motive, but the apology, for offensively defensive machinations against the constituted authorities of Scotland. From Throgmorton's confidential communications, it appears, that a thousand suspicious rumours were whispered and believed respecting the resolution of Henry the Second to prosecute the presumptive claims of Mary Stuart to the crown of England. To counteract this supposed invasion of her rights, Elizabeth was importuned by her ambassadors to enter indirectly into correspondence with Knox, notoriously

the author of the late commotions*; and, as a precautionary measure, to promote dissensions abroad, purely that she might avert them from home.

The disappearance of the Earl of Arran not only provoked the Cardinal's vehemence, but drew even from Mary expressions of resentment little in unison with her general character. Orders having been given to secure his person wherever he

* There is here, at Paris, the wife of Knox the preacher, and her mother, who do shortly depart into England, so far as I can understand. They have made means unto me, by divers Scottishmen, to have my letters in her favour; which I have promised to send by them to Mr. Secretary. In my poor opinion, considering what Knox is able to do in Scotland, which is very much, all this turmoil there being by him stirred as it is, it should stand your Majesty in stead his former faults were forgotten, and that no means be used to annoy him for the same, but that his wife, before she depart into Scotland, may perceive that there is no stomach borne to her husband, but that he may have good hope rather to look for favour and friendship of your Majesty than otherwise, which may work somewhat of good purpose. — *Throgmorton's Dispatches, from Forbes' State Papers.*

should be found, and that he should be brought to Paris whether alive or dead, an apology was offered to her by a French officer, who was employed in this duty, and who recollected that he was her kinsman. She exclaimed, *that he could do her no greater favour than to destroy a rebel.* Whether, in expressing this sentiment, she adopted the language of her uncle, or that she really sympathised in his resentments, must be left to conjecture. According to Throgmorton, she had, for some months, appeared ill and dejected, and her unhappiness was increased by the conviction that Elizabeth had connived at Arran's evasion, and that he aspired to her hand, a surmise afterwards verified. That the daughter of Henry the Eighth should listen to his proposals, was scarcely in the verge of probability; but that it should be possible, was enough for Mary's sensitive apprehensions. Arran and Elizabeth were already united by religious principles; if they should

coalesce, why might they not effect that union between the sister kingdoms, so essential to their common welfare? The Protestant party was rapidly gaining strength among Mary's rebellious subjects; nor could the opprobrious epithet of faction disguise the truth, that it included the most distinguished nobles in the country, and wanted but an able and powerful chief to subvert the ancient establishment. Abstracted from personal considerations, Mary could not but be mortified by the obloquy which, in consequence of Arran's conduct, rested on her countrymen.* Thus various causes conspired to corrode her tranquillity at the moment when Paris was about to exhibit

* There is marvellous discourse and turmoil here; and the Scotland men, who have hitherto had marvellous good countenance, are now but meanly regarded. Wherewith they are so offended, that they declare openly they are desirous to be out of France, and that they verily think the amity which hath so long continued between France and Scotland is now like to lack. Whereof what is now like to follow, I leave to your Lordship's judgment to consider. — *Throgmorton; in Forbes' State Papers.*

a series of nuptial festivities. One of those marriages was that of the young Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of France, with Philip of Spain. The subsequent misfortunes of this amiable Princess have led to romantic details of her personal history, and she has been represented by the novelists of France as an unwilling victim of political necessity, compelled to give her hand to Philip with a heart devoted to his son Don Carlos. It should, however, be recollected that Philip, who was at that period but thirty-one, must have been far more attractive to the imagination of a cultivated girl of fifteen, than his supposed rival, a boy younger than herself, whom she had never seen, and whose immaturity was not compensated by any brilliant promise of personal, or mental accomplishments.

The substitution of the King of Spain for the Prince of Asturias, whilst it flattered the vanity of Henry and Catherine, displeased not even the modest Elizabeth,

whose regrets in leaving France might reasonably be attributed to the affection she cherished for her family and her beloved country. The marriage of Margaret of France, with the Duke of Savoy, was far less acceptable to the people, who could ill brook that this Princess, the elder sister of Henry, so justly endeared by her blameless conduct and enlightened beneficence, should, late in life, renounce her early connections for a Prince who had signalized his valour in the cause of Spain, and never entered the field but as the enemy of her nation. Amidst all these political discussions, the English ambassadors arrived in France, and were received with that magnificent hospitality which formed a prominent feature of the French character. It was, however, observed, that civilities were most eagerly pressed on them by the Constable Montmorency, to whose palaces of Chantilli and Eschouans they were greeted, not merely with befitting state, but cordial friendship. Having arrived within a mile

of Paris, they were met by the Duke de Montspensier, and other Princes, and by them conducted *booted and spurred* to the King's presence, so eager was Henry to behold, and to welcome them to France. After the usual salutations, they were led in the same dress to the Queen's apartment, and presented to Catherine and her daughters, the Queen-Dauphin alone being absent. A few days after, they paid their compliments to Francis and Mary at St. Germain's. With the former they merely exchanged the few brief words prescribed by ceremony; but the young Queen spontaneously added an obliging compliment to Elizabeth, observing she had most reason to rejoice in the conclusion of the peace, as being the *Queen's cousin.** On another occasion Throgmorton remarked, "that she was ready to supply the "too obvious deficiencies of her insignifi- "cant husband." But this interposition

* Forbes' State Papers.

was regulated by extreme modesty and discretion, and when the affairs of Scotland were mentioned, she referred the ambassador to the King, or her uncle the Duke of Guise. Her increasing illness was now the common subject of conversation*; and such was the jealousy excited by the arrogance of the house of Guise, that there were not a few among the French nobility who expressed satisfaction in the prospect of her dissolution. The ambassador, in all his dispatches, reiterates the assurance that she is not expected to be of *long continuance*, and advises his mistress to omit nothing in her

* "The Queen-Dauphin being the same day at church "was very ill at ease, and to keep her from swooning "they were fain to bring her wine from the altar; and "indeed I never saw her look so evil; and as well the "Scotchmen as Frenchmen do much distrust that "she cannot long continue." The French King both granted a very strict commission to Monsieur de Brisack, Monsieur de Lyde, and Monsieur de Pezat, to ride post to seek the Earl of Arran, who is thought to seek all the means he can to rid himself hence.—*Forbes' State Papers.*

power to conciliate the good will of her Scottish neighbours. Amidst all these turmoils and jealousies arrived the Duke of Alva, and Philibert, Duke of Savoy. To meet the former, a procession of twelve hundred men marched out of Paris, divided into the bands of Cardinal Lorrain, the Duke of Guise, the Prince of Ferrara, and the Princes of the blood, all displaying their colours, their devices, and their gorgeous liveries, and thus accompanied, the Duke of Alva entered the city in triumph, followed by a military train of two thousand men. The hotels of Paris were once more thronged with strangers; workmen and artisans were in constant requisition. In every quarter was preparing a scene of pleasure; and those who should have refused to participate in the common joy, must have borne the stigma of heresy or sedition. But at the moment when all breathed of pomp and voluptuous enjoyment, the attention of the court was suddenly transferred to an object of all

others most capable of inspiring interest and awakening sublime emotion — a virtuous man singly opposed to the enormous power of tyranny and injustice, and voluntarily sacrificing himself to the cause of humanity and truth. This solitary individual was Anne Dubourg, a man well descended, and generally respected, not merely as a counsellor of the parliament, but for his intimate associations with Harlai, Seguier, and Du Thou, his compendious knowledge of the laws, his rigid probity and unsullied reputation. After the registration of the edict for establishing the inquisition, the members of the parliament had been divided into two assemblies — the great chamber and the tournelles, each alternately exercising its judicial functions. On the subject of religious delinquencies, a marked discrepancy was soon observed to pervade the decision of those assemblies, who ought to have formed but one legal body. In the great chamber, where St. Andre Minard and

other men of bigotted or venal principles, pronounced judgment, the appealing heretic was without mercy delivered to the flames; but in the Tournelles, where the influence of Du Thou, Harlai, Seguier, and Anne Dubourg, predominated, his punishment was either wholly remitted or commuted for banishment. Incensed at this simple but effectual opposition to his favourite scheme*, Cardinal Lorrain persuaded the King to convoke a general assembly of the parliament called the Mercuriales†, at which every member should be required to deliver his opinion respecting the progress of heresy. In obedience to the summons, the counsellors and judges collected in the Hall of the St. Augustins, but just as they were about to enter on the debate the folding doors were thrown open,

* See Memoires du Marechal Villeville. — LABOUREUR.

† These meetings were called Mercuriales from having originally been held on the Mercredi, the *Wednesday*.

and, to their unspeakable astonishment, appeared the King, accompanied by the Cardinals of Lorrain and Guise, the Constable, the Chancellor, and the Duke de Montpensier; having taken his seat, Henry declared, that since peace was restored to France, his next care should be to purify it from heresy, an object, for the accomplishment of which he had demanded their counsels, and, in listening to their deliberations, should hope to profit by their wisdom and experience. It was impossible that the parliament could be blind to the motives of this extraordinary intrusion, which left the friends of toleration no alternative but to avow sentiments obnoxious to persecution, or, by timid acquiescence, to sanction the violent measures they were most solicitous to prevent. In spite of this conviction there were many of the members who, relying on their personal privileges, shrunk not from the performance of an awful duty. Seguier,

Harlai, and Du Thou, in common with almost all the moderate advocates for toleration, contented themselves with recommending the suspension of penal laws against heretics, and the convocation of a general council. Louis du Faur, with more energy vindicated the Calvinists from the imputation of disaffection; pointedly remarking, that it was the *adulterer* and not the *sectary* who troubled the peace of society. Anne Dubourg followed in the same strain, deprecating as equally absurd and impious the persuasion that the exercise of the reasoning powers was to be checked by the terrors of corporal punishment. "By "such edicts," he exclaimed, "you may "indeed deluge the country with blood, but "remember the *arm of tyranny cannot* "*reach to the immortal soul.*" Having given a lucid historical detail of the corruptions of the church, he demonstrated, that the primitive christian had been as much traduced and persecuted as the modern re-

formers. " And what," continued he, " are " the heavy charges adduced against these " unfortunate people, for whom new tor- " tures are to be invented, and new penal- " ties created? Are they branded with im- " piety or blasphemy, with fraud or pro- " fligacy? No! even their adversaries " confess that in their morals and manners " they are without reproach! Are they " suspected of treason? Who has ever " heard them breathe the King's name but " in their prayers to invoke from heaven " his happiness and prosperity? Are they " seditious? Let it be proved that they " have ever violated the laws, or neglected " their relative duties; or, that they have " ever been less ready than other subjects " to evince their fidelity and loyalty. No; " the crime of which they are convicted is " that of having detected and revealed the " profligate morals of the court of Rome, " of having proclaimed its deviations from " the pure apostolic example, and exposed

" those corruptions which, without a speedy
" and salutary reform, must inevitably lead
" to its final destruction."

Anne Dubourg was permitted to finish his speech; but scarcely had the sitting closed, when Montgommeri, the captain of the guard, by the King's command, attended to take him into custody. The same violence was offered to Du Faur, and three other counsellors; whilst Henry, protesting they should not escape vengeance, returned to the palace to receive the felicitations of his bishops and courtiers. But even by his Catholic subjects this exertion of authority was not unanimously approved.* A counsellor's robe inspired respect, the rights of a judge had hitherto been held sacred, and none but violent or unprincipled men could witness with indifference, the contempt avowed for the laws, and the antient tribunals of justice. After a brief examination,

* According to Villeville, (see his Memoirs,) many of the nobility remonstrated against the measure.

Dubourg was pronounced a convicted heretic, when Henry rashly exclaimed, that, "He would himself witness his execution."

1559

The 26th of June arrived, the day fixed for the espousals of the young Princess, who, to diminish its fatigues, had slept at the bishop's palace, from whence, as on the occasion of Mary Stuart's marriage, a communication was made by a covered gallery, with the church of Notre Dame. In her small but elegant form, Elizabeth presented a striking contrast to the Queen Dauphin, but, like her, was well-proportioned and eminently graceful. To the attraction of a delicate complexion, she added majestic features, and hair remarkable for *length* and beauty; her countenance was lighted up by large black eyes, equally expressive of vivacity and sensibility. The bridal dress was ill calculated to embellish her delicate figure, which was almost crushed beneath the weight of its ornaments. She was attired, or rather imprisoned, in a robe

of cloth of gold, so completely studded with diamonds and precious stones, that, at a little distance, she appeared to realize the figurative expression of "robed in light," and dazzled the eyes by the refulgence of her garments. On her head was placed an imperial crown, almost composed of jewels, which might have purchased a petty kingdom, and of which a single diamond was valued at two hundred thousand scudi.*

Without possessing the solid learning or brilliant talents of Mary Stuart, this Princess had received considerable cultivation; her mind and manners having been rather formed by the precepts of her aunt, the virtuous Margaret, than by the example of her ambitious mother; and if modesty, sweetness, and discretion might ensure to

* An elaborate account of this marriage may be found in a small Italian Tract, published at Venice, in 1559, entituled, "Discorso e particolar Notitia de le "feste trionfi, fatte in Francia, dopo la conclusione "del pace nel sposar, di Madame Elizabetta, prima-"genita del Re christianissimo, 1559."

woman a happy fate, it should have been reserved for the unexceptionable Elizabeth.

After dining with the bishop, the royal party, in compliment to the Spanish alliance, or to give an example of devotion, went to vespers, and from thence repaired to the palace, where supper was once more served on the marble table, the Princes of the blood officiating as servitors. In the centre, between the new Queen and the representative of King Philip, sat Henry, rejoicing in the brilliant alliance he had formed for his favorite daughter, and in the restoration of his beloved Montmorency, who had resumed the functions of Great Master of the houshold, not without a consciousness of superiority over the Princes of Lorrain. Reigning in the heart of his sovereign, fortified by his connexion with the family of Madame de Valentinois, and beholding, with exultation, his two eldest sons united to royal brides; this was, perhaps, the proudest, though not the noblest,

moment of the veteran's life; nor was it his least gratification that many foreign princes witnessed his elevation; whilst the courtiers, anticipating a revolution in the ministry, by obsequious deference proclaimed his triumph.*

On the following day he received a flattering tribute of respect from the Princess Margaret, who became his guest at his palace of Megret, (near the Place St. Antoine,) and was there betrothed to the Duke

* The masques of the evening appear to have been inferior to those exhibited at the Dauphin's nuptials. In compliment to the Spanish grandees, was revived the old and almost exploded mummery of a rock riven asunder, and discovering six nobles and a castle, in which six other nobles were exposed to view. To the castle were affixed mirrors, formed in the shape of crescents, which reflected the whole scene, to the infinite delight of the spectators. A dance of nymphs and satyrs succeeded, in which, for the first time, cavaliers appeared in a female garb; a practice afterwards very prevalent in such amusements. At the conclusion of the banquet, the Duke of Alva, with a train of torch-bearers, attended Elizabeth to the door of her apartment, and there took leave, with a profound obeisance.

of Savoy.* A ball and banquet followed, at which was introduced an epithalamium, written by Joachim du Bellay, in honour of his royal patroness. Whatever might be the merit of the verses, they were chaunted by three accomplished sisters, Diana, Lucretia, and Camilla Morel, eminent for their classical attainments, and, if the poet may be trusted, equally worthy to represent the muses and the graces. The next day began the tournament, so fatal to Henry the Second, and the house of Valois.

The Place Antoine, in full view of the Bastille, within whose walls the patriotic Anne du Bourg had been imprisoned, was the ground chosen for the tournament; and, on this spot, had been erected a theatre for the accommodation of the spectators. The

* The Duke of Savoy was not fianced till the 27th of this present, at night, which was done at Megret, a house of the Constable's, near the place of the jousts, with great triumph; on which evening, also, an entry was made for the beginning of the joustes.

FORBES.

concourse of foreign nobility was beyond all precedent, and the ambassadors, generals, and princes, dazzled the eye with the splendour and variety of their national costumes. During the first day, precedence was yielded to the junior knights, and the illustrious strangers. The King Dauphin's bands began the jousts, with singular impropriety* displaying on their banners, in the presence of the English ambassador, the arms of England; and it was remarked, that when Mary Stuart was carried in her chair to the royal balcony, the attendant lacqueys vociferated, "Place, place for the Queen of England!" On the morrow, Henry himself entered the course; proud of his martial air and equestrian skill, he eagerly seized the occasion

* "The King Dauphin's band began the jousts: "two heralds, who came before his band, were Scots, "fair set out with the King Dauphin and the Queen "Dauphin's arms, with a scutcheon of England set "forth to shew, as all the world might easily perceive, "the same being embroidered upon purple velvet, and "set out with armoury upon their breasts, back, and "sleeves." — *Forbes' State Papers.*

for exhibiting his brilliant accomplishments; and, as usual, wore the black and white costume, in honour of Diana de Poictiers. Next to Henry came the Duke of Guise, who, for the sake of some nameless beauty, always retained a crimson livery. The Prince of Ferrara, who followed, was habited in red and yellow; whilst the Duke of Nemours, with the insolence of a professed libertine, wore his favourite black and yellow, signifying, in symbolic language, that he was at once a faithful and favoured lover.*

In this puerile conflict, although Henry repeatedly triumphed, he was unsatisfied with popular applause, and seizing one of two lances which remained untouched, he challenged the Count Montgommeri to take the other. At this moment, a message was delivered from Catherine and the Princesses, imploring the King to quit the field. Regardless of their admonition, Henry

* Brantome.

again rushed to the combat, where, amidst shouts and acclamations, he received his death-wound.*

" It has ever been the misfortune of the " King," says Pasquier, " that he aspired " to the first prize in jousting; and I am " persuaded he was, on this occasion, the " more anxious, from the desire he natu- " rally felt to exhibit his prowess in the " presence of the numerous foreigners who " were assembled."

The impression which was created in the public mind, is thus detailed by the same impartial writer: — " This deplorable ca- " tastrophe has given rise to various sinis-

* According to Throgmorton, the injury was not, at first, suspected to be serious.

" He was instantly unarmed; the hurt seemed not " great, whereby I judge he is but in little danger. " Marry, I saw a splint taken out of a great bigness, " and nothing else done, but I noted him to be very " weak; being come away, he moved neither hand nor " foot; there was marvellous great lamentation made " for him, and weeping of all sorts, both men and " women." — *Forbes' State Papers.*

" ter reflections; and, there are some
" who fancy they discover in it the visible
" agency of retributive Providence, since,
" if we may credit the assertions of Cardi-
" nal Lorrain, the King had hurried the
" peace purposely, that he might be at
" leisure to extirpate, by force, the heresy
" of Calvin. With this view, he had sud-
" denly presented himself to the parlia-
" ment on the 10th of June; to collect the
" various opinions of the members, of whom
" the majority recommended the suspen-
" sion of penal laws, and the convocation
" of a general council. In the course of
" these deliberations, the King having
" heard certain sentiments, at which he
" was justly offended, ordered several of the
" counsellors to be taken into custody.
" They were instantly conveyed to the
" Bastille, whence, according to certain
" sinister interpreters, the evil has lighted
" upon him, by the special will of God,
" for having interrupted men in the exer-

" cise of their official duties. It is also " observed, that as it was on the 10th of " June that he consigned the counsellors " to the Bastille, so it was on the 10th of " July, that he received the stroke of " death; thus reason the misjudging mul- " titude, who speak from passion rather " than reason. But it is a singular fact," adds Pasquier, " that he should have com- " menced his reign, on the 10th of June, " with the combat of Jarnac and la Cha- " taigneraie; and that, on the 10th of July, " it was terminated in consequence of his " combat with Montgommeri. Also, it ap- " pears, (though I am little disposed to trust " to phantoms and illusions,) that this cala- " mity was long since predicted by Car- " dan; and it is pretended, that a Jew of " Rome, addicted to astrology, warned " the King to beware of a duel; and so " strongly was the Queen's mind impressed " with this admonition, that she repeatedly " besought him to leave the field. In

" conclusion," adds Pasquier, " his corpse " lies in state in the very hall which he had " erected for the celebration of the nup- " tial festivities. The Constable, in dis- " grace, watches the corpse; the Guises " are omnipotent, the young King having " espoused their niece; the Queen Mother " is greatly commiserated; and conster- " nation universally prevails with the " people." *

With the fate of Henry the Second was connected that of Anne Dubourg, whose history shall therefore be here concluded. The late judicial proceedings against that virtuous man had been necessarily suspended by the King's death; and it appeared improbable, that the new administration should persist in prosecuting a magistrate, who had been arrested in the discharge of his legitimate duty, and in exercising a privilege to which he had been invited by his Sovereign. Impressed with

* Lettres de Estienne Pasquier. 8vo. edition.

this opinion, and relying on his own talents and experience, Dubourg, by a series of spirited appeals, actually succeeded, during some months, in parrying the attacks, and baffling the artifices of Cardinal Lorrain; but these resources at length failed, and every objection being overruled, the prisoner was directed to take his trial in the great chamber, (where the church party predominated), instead of being arraigned before the whole parliament collectively assembled, to which he was legally entitled; even here, however, his cause appeared not absolutely hopeless, and to the honour of his profession and his nation, advocates were found sufficiently intrepid and independent to undertake his defence. Of these the principal was Francis Marillac, brother to the celebrated bishop of Viennes, an orator even more distinguished by sagacity and discretion, than courage and eloquence. Conscious that his client had many secret well-wishers, who, from motives of pusilla-

nimity, were ranged with his enemies, the first step Marillac took was to conciliate certain leading members of the great chamber, tenacious of the privileges which had been impugned in the person of Anne Dubourg, and cordially disposed to embrace any decent pretext for his acquittal. Having secured their assistance he concerted with them a plan, which, unless it should be counteracted by Dubourg himself, ensured a successful termination to the process. To induce that upright magistrate to connive at duplicity or falsehood, was an undertaking too desperate to be attempted; but Marillac had the address to extort from him a promise, that during the trial he would remain passive and silent. Fortified by this assurance, on the day appointed the Advocate opened the cause, with a delineation of the prisoner's character; he descanted on his respectable descent, his high connections, his pure morals and unblemished reputation; he

exposed the perversion of justice which had been manifested in his arrest and imprisonment; but instead of denying the competence of the great chamber to pronounce judgment, he challenged its mercy: with equal address he conceded to the zealots that his client was not blameless; that, seduced by certain chimeras of perfection with which the reformers dazzled his imagination, he had been the dupe of their mischievous impostures; that the illusion was now happily dispelled, and the prisoner, strictly attached to the laws and religion of his country, confessed his error, and humbly solicited the court's indulgence. In uttering these last words, Marillac looked significantly towards the magistrates, who seconded his views, and who, observing the signal, hastily rose from their seats, and as abruptly cleared the hall, leaving to the astonished prisoner no alternative but to withdraw in silence. For a moment Marillac exulted in success; but

scarcely had Dubourg reached his cell, than he took up the pen, wrote a solemn disavowal of Marillac's concessions, and to prevent the possibility of future subterfuge, explicitly announced those religious tenets he had hitherto partially suppressed. In transmitting to the parliament this important document he renounced every hope, but preserved his own respect, and escaped the shame of having accepted life at the price of integrity. After his last communication the parliament presumed not to withhold the fatal sentence; yet, in leaving to the king the alternative of death or imprisonment, it indirectly suggested an appeal to royal clemency. In the meanwhile the friends and partizans of Dubourg relaxed not their exertions; but by a deplorable fatality, whatever steps were taken for his deliverance, served only to accelerate his destruction. An enterprise planned for his rescue, furnished an excuse for transporting him to the Castle of Vincennes.

Madame de la Roye obtained from Catherine a promise of mediation never fulfilled; finally, an application was transmitted to the Elector Palatine, whose intercession, it was believed, even Cardinal Lorrain would be unable to resist. Unfortunately this last effort transpired, and the Cardinal, to obviate the perplexities it might have created, dispatched an order for the prisoner's immediate execution. At the commencement of his prosecution Dubourg had discovered much ardour in combating the machinations of his enemies, and equal solicitude to prolong his existence; but, whether that his enlightened mind presaged the calamities impending on France, or that the silent operation of religious feelings had concentrated all the energies of his noble nature in an enthusiastic passion for immortality; by whatever cause the change was produced, he had lately shewn indifference for life, and cheerfully received the intimation of his approaching dissolution; more than

ever anxious to perform every social, every religious duty, he employed his few remaining moments in writing to his friends, in absolving from malice or premeditated injustice the parliament, and in conversing with a Calvinistic minister, who infused into him the hope, that he should bequeath a fair and useful example to his age and country.

On leaving his prison, he saw himself surrounded by soldiers, an unnecessary precaution, since no rescue was attempted. As he proceeded to the Place de Greve, he recognised among the numerous spectators several members of his own profession, with whom he had lived in intimacy and friendship, and among them the son of the president du Thou, who treasured up the last words that fell from his lips, and has touchingly described the looks of benignity and devotion with which they were accompanied. On approaching the place of execution, Dubourg exclaimed, "Let

" the unrighteous forsake his ways and " turn to the Lord, and he shall have " mercy on him." Then observing his former companions, he said, " For you, " O Senators! may you all live long " and happy; think of God only, for in " him alone ye live and have your being; I " die for the truth, and I die rejoicing." — Having reached the scaffold he exclaimed, " O God forsake me not, lest I forsake " thee." He then presented himself to the executioner, who performed his office; and many hours after the body was consigned to the flames. Thus perished in his thirty-seventh year Anne du Bourg*, of whose pure unblemished life there needs no other testimony, than that the most zealous Catholics have never attempted to impugn his virtues. In him the parliament lost a

* See Du Thou. — Mémoires de Condè. — Père Daniel. — Garnier, Histoire de France. — Laboureur. To their honour the most zealous Catholics have done justice to his talents and his virtues.

vindicator of its rights — the Calvinists a judicious friend, and France one of its noblest ornaments; the tyrants of his day have also perished; and in the progress of society those who, in his person, insulted reason and trampled on humanity, are justly consigned to infamy or oblivion; but so long as magnanimous sentiments shall be cherished, or honourable principles revered; so long as the cause of civil and religious liberty shall be held sacred, or the examples of honour, truth, and integrity find admirers or advocates in the human race, so long shall mankind yield their tribute to the illustrious Anne Dubourg.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE 59. CHAP. II.

ACCORDING to La Noue, the youths who had been reared in the palaces of princes and nobles, were soon initiated into every species of dissipation, and not unfrequently became as adroit in picking pockets, as in cheating and deceiving their companions. The austere La Noue condemns also the practice of expatriating young gentlemen, under the pretence of sending them to travel. Nor does the system of tuition pursued in the universities escape his censure. "Among the many who spend in it "their spring days," he remarks, "few gather "any fruits from their immense labour. Parents "are shocked to remark the contrast of scholastic "habits with the elegant address and graceful carriage of the accomplished cavalier. Perplexed "by the difficulty of selection, there are some gentlemen who educate their sons at home; an excellent plan for those who are sufficiently rich "to secure to their children the society of juvenile companions. For those who are less favoured by fortune, there appears to be no alternative

" but to procure their sons an introduction to some " noble family in the capacity of pages, to what- " ever objections that situation may be exposed." Finally, he recommends the establishment of academies or public schools in the principal towns of every province; but it should be recollected, that La Noue published not these remarks till after the fatal administration of Catherine de Medicis. — See *Discours Politiques et Militaires.*

PAGE 139. CHAP. III.

The learned Laboureur has inserted, page 347, vol. i. a copy of the original instructions given by Henry the Second, to the Reverend Doctor Orriz, who at that time exercised the functions of the Pope's Inquisitor in France, and who was dispatched to Ferrara officially to remonstrate with the Duchess Renée on the perversion of her faith. In the first instance, the Inquisitor was to confer with the Duke, in order to ascertain in what points the Duchess seceded from the apostolical church. He was then to demand an interview with Renée, for the express purpose of reading to her a letter written with Henry's own hand, describing the " sorrow with which he had at length been ap- " prized of her participation in those damnable and " fallacious opinions, contrary to the holy faith of " their religion; that this fatal news announced to " him nothing less than the forfeiture of life, whe-

" ther *bodily* or *spiritual*, to his only surviving " aunt, whom he has always loved, esteemed, and " revered; as in truth he is still disposed to do, " inasmuch as to hear of her restoration to the " bosom of the holy church would be to him no " less the source of joy than to witness her resur- " rection from the grave. The King proceeded " to remind her of the gratitude she owed to God " for her illustrious descent from the most Christian " princes of France, in which happy country no " monster of heresy had ever received its birth. " At the same time he apprized her, that if she " persisted in obstinacy and disobedience, he " should withdraw the friendship of a kinsman, " and renounce the duty of a nephew towards her; " holding in abhorrence those condemned sects of " which he is the mortal enemy." In another document, the King observes, " if, by gentle " means, she should be found utterly irreclaim- " able, it will be proper for the Doctor Orriz to " recommend to the Duke the adoption of rigor- " ous measures to bring her back to reason; and " it is suggested that the contumacious Duchess " shall be separated from her husband and children, " and domestic attendants; and if any of these " should be suspected of participating in her error, " they are to be examined and prosecuted by the " Doctor Orriz, according to the rules of his " holy profession." In conclusion, the King in-

timates, "though he has recommended the adop-
"tion of rigorous measures towards his aunt,
"yet he advises that they may be tempered by a
"certain modesty and propriety, so as to take
"away all occasion *for scandal or reproach.*"

Renée, who sustained this trial with characteristic firmness, was deprived of the privilege of superintending the education of her children, and for some time divested of royal splendour. After her husband's death, she returned to France, and died in 1575, at Montargis.

PAGE 154. CHAP. III.

The author of Vieilleville's Memoirs dilates *con amore*, on the magnificence of Henry's entry. "The greatest monarch in Europe made his "entry into that city of which it is commonly "said, that if the world were an egg, its yolk would "be found in Paris;" and foreigners, adds Carloix, usually say of it, in allusion to its enormous extent, *Orbem in urbe vidimus.* To do honour to his city of Paris, the King had summoned on that occasion all his princes and nobility, whose equipage was beyond expression superb and sumptuous; two thousand pages marched before their masters, bearing arms. These pages wore ribbands of different hues on their helmets, so that they appeared like *meadows in the bloom of May.* "On their "part, the Parisians were equally anxious to offer

" homage to their sovereign; there was neither " place nor square, nor court, but was embellished " with an amphitheatre, a triumphal arch, a pyra- " mid or obelisk, a colossal statue or emblem, " elaborately wrought, of which the gold and azure " dazzled the spectators. Many of these orna- " ments were illustrated by learned Greek or Latin " verses from the pen of the poet-royal, Aurat, or " more divine Ronsard. But above all things " was admirable the splendid equipage of the " fifteen thousand men who marched in the pro- " cession, exclusive of twelve hundred sons of citi- " zens, whose horses were no less spirited and well " trained than those of the most noble cavaliers. " This circumstance will, however, cease to aston- " ish when we recollect that Paris contains more " than a hundred houses, of which the rent " amounts to thirty thousand livres; about two " hundred of ten thousand; three or four hun- " dred of five or six thousand; and at least twenty " of sixty thousand livres per annum. This cal- " culation is confined to private mansions, exclu- " sive of abbeys, colleges, &c." — *Memoires de Francois Scepeaux; Sieur de Vieilleville.*

PAGE 166. CHAP. III.

In the Memoirs of Vieilleville is a very entertaining account of the Marechale Motijan, his kinswoman, previous to her marriage with the Prince

of Roche-sur-yon. At the period of his death, having accompanied her husband to Piedmont, she was left at Turin, and much perplexed in what manner to return to France; when John Louis, Marquis of Saluces, allured by her dower still more than by her youth and beauty, offered her his protection; which was gladly accepted, and, under his escort, the fair widow and her retinue proceeded from Turin to Paris. The expences of the journey were constantly defrayed by the Marquis, who, presuming on the lady's favour, often rallied her on her female suite, sixteen in number, some of whom he protested he should dismiss as soon as he became their master. Madame de Motijan smiled at these sallies, and the Marquis, not doubting that he was to be the future husband, in the fulness of his joy, engaged at Lyons a band of musicians to dissipate her melancholy. During her stay in that city, the lady was apprized by letters from her kinsman, M. Vieilleville, that the Marquis de Saluces boasted of his conquest, and that the king, Francis the First, countenanced his pretensions. In reply, the Marechale expressed aversion for the Marquis; although being without money, she had no alternative but to allow him to indulge his anticipations till she had accomplished her journey. In whatever town they tarried for the night, the Marquis provided a collation and concert for the lady's pleasure; a thou-

sand courtesies passed between them, and as they approached Paris he flattered himself he should be permitted, as a privileged lover, to conduct her to her residence; but, to his infinite chagrin, the wily Marechale suddenly caused her company to halt between the gates of St. Marceau and St. Jacques, whilst she formally announced their immediate separation, observing, that honour forbade their residing under the same roof; that in eight days her Majordomo would discharge the pecuniary part of her debt; that in other respects her obligations were eternal; though separated, she left her heart in his keeping; and, as a mark of friendship and respect, she volunteered a parting kiss. No sooner had the Marechale reached her own house than M. de Vieilleville presented to her the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, whom he urged her to espouse, as the best mode in which she could punish the presumption of the indignant Marquis; but that nobleman was not easily discouraged. Fortified by the King's favour, and incensed to find that he had an illustrious rival, he had recourse to a legal advocate, with whose assistance he fabricated a voluminous charge against the ambitious widow, which was presented to the parliament of Paris, and the fair culprit was in consequence summoned to appear before that tribunal. At the appointed day, to the surprise of the President, there was a sudden apparition of beauty and splendour within

the Temple of Themis; the Marechale, attended by a train of ladies, single and married, all richly dressed, and escorted by a gallant troop of cavaliers, among whom the brave General Vieilleville was eminently conspicuous, answered in person to the citation. The President having asked whether she had not given a promise of marriage to the Marquis de Saluces, the clerk proceeded to repeat the question, holding up his hand, as about to adjure the party to speak the truth. "Gentlemen," interrupted the Marechale, "I "have never before had to speak in such a "presence; you must therefore pardon me if my "frank manner should ill agree with your technical subtleties. To cut the matter short, I take "God and the King to witness; I adjure my Maker by all my hopes of salvation; I obtest my "Sovereign, on the pain of forfeiting life, honour, "and all my worldly goods; by all that men hold "dear and sacred; I swear I never, in any "manner, pledged my word to the Marquis "de Saluces. If any there be who shall affirm "the contrary, behold my champion," taking Vieilleville by the hand; "this is my knight, who, "with his good sword, shall maintain my word "to be that of a true and honourable woman, "trusting in God that he shall prove my accuser "to be, saving your presence, an infamous liar." Her appeal was enforced by the martial aspect of

her conductor; and the President, perceiving by the looks of the Marquis, how little he was disposed to accept the challenge, exclaimed, "What "a change is here! Clerk, you may withdraw "your regreas; pen and ink are out of the ques-"tion. Madame la Marechale takes a shorter "course. What have you to say, my Lord Mar-"quis?" That august personage, who had turned pale at the sight of Vieilleville's sword, now replied, in a very plaintive tone, "That he would not have "a woman by force," and, with a low bow, quitted the court. "Bravo!" cried the President to the Sieur de Vieilleville. "He had actually filled forty "sheets with the charges to be exhibited against "Madame la Marechale; even the kiss of courtesy, "given at the Porte St. Marceau, being among "them; but the lady's intrepidity has baffled his "calculation." "Well," returned M. de Vieille-ville, who, like Montmorency, cherished Cisal-pine prejudices, "for once, then, a French lady "has outwitted an Italian signor."—*Memoires de la Vie de François Scepeaux, Sieur de Vieilleville*, 1 *tome*.

PAGE 232. CHAP. IV.

For one of their favourite pastimes the French nobility were indebted to the embassy of Marechal St. André to England, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, when, as we learn from Vieilleville, instead

of a tourney, the English court regaled him with the novel spectacle of dogs contending with bears and bulls. In the sequel the Marechal transported a dozen bull-dogs to France, where they found such favour with Henry and his court, as to form a part of every great lord's rural establishment; these animals appear to have been fondly cherished till the civil wars, when the pastime for which they were introduced was discontinued.

PAGE 233. CHAP. IV.

The practice of keeping fools was universal in France, England, and Germany. A predecessor of Thony, one Briandas, innocently caused a quarrel between Francis the First and the Dauphin, Henry the Second, by apprizing him that his son had in jest disposed of all the offices of state in favour of his companions. "Hear, Francis of Va-"lois, you are no longer king; and if you don't "take care, you will be whipt by order of the "Constable Montmorency; and you, Turin, are "no longer Chamberlain, but Brissac." Luckily for M. de Vieilleville, Henry had left him without a place; an omission for which Francis ever after treated him with particular marks of favour. In the year 1555, Brusquet, another fool, accompanied Admiral Coligny in his visit to Charles the Fifth, who had just abdicated the throne, and with great freedom rallied the Ex-emperor on his gouty fingers.

But perhaps the most sagacious jester of France was Triboulet, who, in the year 1525, when Francis the First was about to commence his unlucky campaign in Italy, having listened very attentively to a conversation which turned on the best way of getting into Italy, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, you have all missed the essential part of "the subject, which is, to devise by what means "your troops shall get out of it." One day, when Triboulet had been threatened with the bastinado, the King bid him not fear, as, whoever killed him, should be hanged a quarter of an hour after. The jester exclaimed, "An please your Majesty, I would "rather he should be hanged a quarter of an hour "before."

PAGE 340. CHAP. V.

In the first vol. of Vieilleville, we have an account of the Marechal St. André's embassy to Edward the Sixth, in 1550, which presents a striking contrast to the magnificent reception of the English ambassador in France. Unluckily the French suite landed at Rye instead of Dover; only eighty horses could be procured for their numerous suite; many noblemen were therefore glad to take a seat in a waggon drawn by oxen, and there were cavaliers dressed in satin and velvet, who were forced to make their way on foot. M. de Vieilleville per-

ceiving in this mournful plight the Count Montgommery, charged his son-in-law, M. D'Epinay, to give him a seat behind him on the crupper. Having reached the Chancellor's in Westminster, they were all accommodated with horses and overwhelmed with civilities. But the Marechal had been instructed by his court not to accept the hospitality of the English Government; and, when provisions were offered, they were immediately returned with thanks. This restriction originated in policy, but appears to have been highly acceptable to the gentlemen of his suite, who rejected English viands with abhorrence; according to another statement, nothing was to be seen in London but geese and swans; whilst the French were daily supplied from Paris with the most delicious game, and choice fruits. *So that* (says Carloix) *these English milords cursed* their wretched climate, which denied them such rarities. It was stipulated by the Chancellor, that mass should not be celebrated in public, and with this restriction the Marechal cheerfully complied. At Windsor Castle the young King received the strangers with the most winning politeness, and by his personal beauty, elegance, and surprising intelligence, enchanted all who approached him. At parting, his fine countenance assumed an expression of sorrow highly flattering to his guests, some of whom predicted his untimely

fate, declaring, that he was too angelic to remain in this world.—*Memoires de François Scepeaux, Sieur de Vieilleville, composée par S. Carloix.*

PAGE 345. CHAP. V.

According to the Memoirs of Vieilleville, several French noblemen, and Vieilleville in that number, attempted to dissuade Henry the Second from intruding on the parliament, to which he was instigated by Cardinal Lorrain.

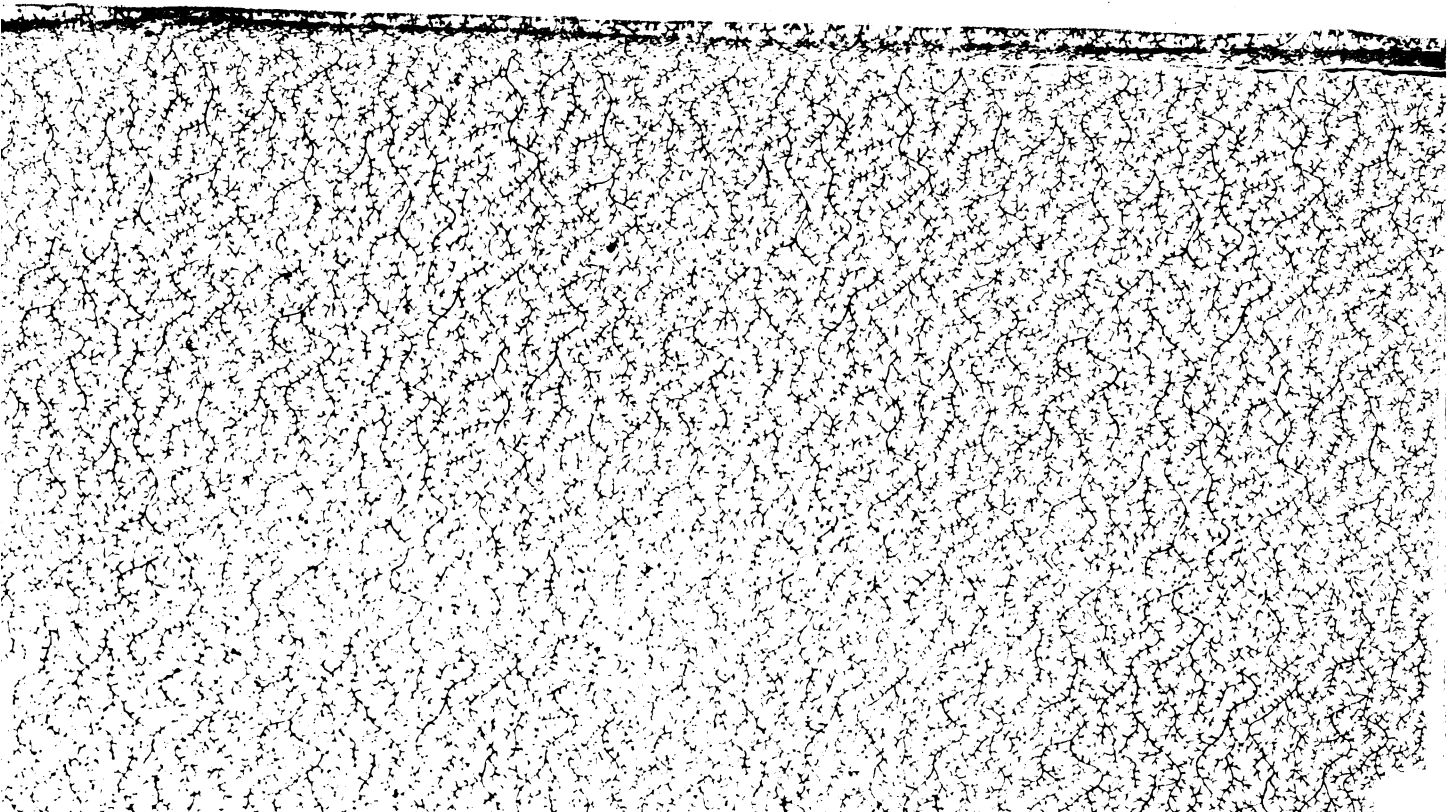
PAGE 350. CHAP. V.

In the Memoirs of Amelot d'Aussaye, the person of Elizabeth is thus described: Though little, she was beautiful; her face round, her eyes lively and sparkling, a delicate complexion, and jet black hair; her mental endowments were still superior; and yet it was her misfortune to be suspected by her husband, who would not believe that the daughter of Henry the Second and Catherine de Medicis could have learnt to sacrifice inclination to duty. She expired in October, 1568, two months after the decease of Don Carlos.

PAGE 353. CHAP. V.

It is pretended by Brantome, that Madame Margaret had been impressed with partial sentiments for Philibert, Duke of Savoy, many years before states-

men digested the plan of their union, and that it was partly for his sake she rejected the Duke de Vendome, afterwards King of Navarre. Political reasons were not wanting to this marriage, which furnished a commodious pretext for relinquishing the pretensions of France on Savoy. To this circumstance Margaret herself alluded in composing the device of two serpents entwined around an olive branch, with the words, *rerum sapientia custos.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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